

E

178

2

F8



Class E. 178

Book .F 8

Copyright N^o _____

COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT.



Columbia University
in the City of New York

AN OUTLINE OF
EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY
1000 — 1815

By
Dixon Ryan Fox, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK
1922

1

1
1651

AN OUTLINE OF
EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

By
Dixon Ryan Fox, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University

Prepared Especially for Home Students

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK
1922

E178
.2
.F8

Copyrighted, 1922, by Department of Extension Teaching, Columbia University

©Cl. A659938

MAR -9 1922

A FEW PRELIMINARY WORDS TO THE HOME STUDENT

History has been written and read for thousands of years for many and various reasons. Selecting the strange and wonderful, story-tellers from Herodotus down have entertained the curious, and their tales have held such intrinsic charm and have been so often and so well related that they have become a part of the human heritage, especially of the cultivated classes. But in this conception of historical knowledge, there was something aristocratic, something of the caste secrets that play so large a part in the culture of primitive people. Later books written for gentlemen evidenced their purpose by plentiful allusion to historical lore with which every gentleman was supposed to be familiar; and historical fact, more or less accurately ascertained, was considered as material for art. The man of leisure, then, gave some time to history because he found its episodes diverting and because he found it necessary to the full enjoyment of belles lettres.

Now that the leisure class, or at least the class with some time and ability to read, has been enormously enlarged, history affords to countless numbers a pageant of dramatic scenes, which stir the fancy and quicken the pulse. It gives to plain John Doe, who may think his own environment quite flat and stale, a thrilling sense of intimate companionship with the great, the beautiful, the good. Thus Gibbon seemed to look upon the study of history as an honorable kind of pastime, for in the introduction to his masterpiece, he confessed that he considered "that the annals of ancient and modern times may afford many rich and interesting subjects; that I am still possessed of health and leisure; that by the practice of writing some skill and facility must be acquired; and that in the ardent pursuit of truth and knowledge I am not conscious of decay". Now the student who sets out to follow systematically the course of study here presented, need feel no shame if his purpose is thus merely to "while away the time", for his days will be enriched by the pictures of life he finds in the story of America. Yet he who thus quite properly seeks here the picturesque and the dramatic must remember that prizes are won only at the cost of effort and that to realize clearly even the outward aspect of any phase or episode of our national life will require careful and extensive reading.

History is recommended, however, as containing more than entertainment. Who can read the story of America without a glow of pride at what our fathers have accomplished? Only a close and sympathetic study of their purposes and their achievements can lead us to a clear conception of American ideals and with this an intelligent and purposeful patriotism. But this kind of patriotism comes only from knowledge and trained judg-

ment; we need here to inquire as to the cause and effect of national habits of thought and action, so that standards of national conduct can be developed. In their treatment of the Indians, which European people showed the most of the ultimate wisdom we call morality? Did the Puritans have a right to hang the Quakers? Were the colonists justified in smuggling goods from the West Indies? Should we have fought for France in 1793? Was slavery truly a crime against the negro? Were the debtor farmers of the west morally wrong in demanding greenbacks and free silver? These questions suggest the difficulty in making up a judgment on a group or a whole people. History written to glorify a nation, like Livy's *Rome*, Jansen's *German People* or Bancroft's *United States*, must be read with caution, remembering that perfection is not the mark of nations or of men, and considering the claims of peculiar virtue as theses to be investigated in further study rather than to be taken as final judgments. Nations, like individuals, must be judged only after weighing all the evidence at hand, but since new evidence is from time to time forthcoming, even on transactions of the distant past, and since old evidence looks different in the light of the new experience of each succeeding generation, it behooves us to be careful in our praise or condemnation, however desirable it may be to form a definite opinion.

But history deals not alone with nations, but with individual men as well, and here even more obviously an ethical standard may be developed by its study. Schools of historians are at odds as to the importance of the individual in bringing things to pass, some maintaining that a great man's will energizes and directs his generation, others that he is but the instrument of environmental forces, and that he leads because he ascertains these forces and puts his will in harmony with them. Nevertheless, we all believe enough in the freedom of the will and in the consequence to society to be interested in problems of conduct, and in this course we shall find abundant material on which to exercise our faculties of ethical judgment in valuing the acts of individuals. We feel that the leader is responsible to posterity for his decisions, and yet we must judge him by the customs of his place and time.

Governor Berkeley hanging thirty-seven of his personal enemies and the magistrates of Salem killing witches belong in the seventeenth century, just as Jane Addams and Thomas Mott Osborne belong in the twentieth. Yet the fundamental problems of the individual in the days of the *Pilgrim's Progress* were much the same as they are in the day of the *Strenuous Life*, and whether our test be pure unselfishness, or a devotion to a great ideal, or survival of the best, or an inward taste as to what is appropriate, or the greatest good of the greatest number, we will, it is hoped, develop our ethical sense in this course of study. Washington rebuking those who offered him the crown, Governor Jay refusing to undo Jefferson's victory of 1800 by a partisan trick, Seward speaking for the "higher law" in 1850, Roosevelt bravely acting for the people in the great coal strike of 1902, may all have been moved in part by prudence, but they have nevertheless won places in our gallery of great gentlemen, whom we are proud to know and to emulate. A successful teacher once remarked

that it was his purpose to make his students critical, without making them cynical. That is our purpose here.

Yet we study history not alone, like Plutarch, to draw a moral lesson, nor like the pious reader of *De Acta Sanctorum* to find the way for our own salvation. It is valuable when studying the problem of a leader to ask one's self, "What would I have done?" And then to ask another, and perhaps a very different question, "What should I have done?" But there is a political as well as a moral value to the study of history. "History is past politics", maintained Professor Freeman, meaning that it must concern itself with the success or failure of men to get certain results by laws and policies. While this is a very narrow view of history it suggests one purpose in its study: to learn by the experience of the race what to do and what not to do in the conduct of a state. "Men of patient untiring thought have studied natural events with a view of discovering their regularity," wrote the historian Buckle, "and if human events were subjected to similar treatment, we have every right to expect similar results." Although few would indulge in expectations quite so sanguine, in a large consideration there is something in these lessons, the "lessons of history" cited by every public man. A member of parliament who had read the history of our Revolution would not vote today to lay a direct tax on Canada to help support the British army. No one could read our history without concluding that a victorious war was likely to be followed by a period of spending and of speculation. No southern governor today would contemplate secession in the hope that he could market cotton in Great Britain or that northern mill-hands would not fight. But this last illustration brings us to realize why the lessons of history are not quite as practical as Thucydides and Machiavelli and many others have supposed. The study of history while it will suggest broad and useful generalization will also reveal that in an evolution so complex as that of human society, situations are rarely if ever fully and precisely repeated; almost always there are in the present state of things some new factors which make it unsafe to argue with dogmatic certainty from the experience of the past. The scientific laws of history, which so stirred the enthusiasm of Mr. Wells in his *Discovery of the Future*, are not likely to eliminate the risks of statesmanship. Yet there is still truth in Warwick's observation in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*:

"There is a history in all men's lives
Figuring the nature of the times deceased;
The which observed, a man may prophesy
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life, which in their seeds
And weak beginnings lie intreasured."

It is well in the study of this course constantly to try (without too much self-confidence) to prophesy on this basis of historical experience "of the main chance of things".

But though the particular "lessons" have to be applied with greatest caution, nevertheless history has a practical message to the present. We

find ourselves in a complex world, whose present state puzzles the understanding of the wisest. Anything we can do to bring one thing into sharper outline seems a sort of duty to ourselves and to society. But if one would understand a tree one does not rest content with noticing its height and breadth, the color and surface of its bark, and the density and character of its foliage. Rather one collects what data are available on the seed from which it sprang, and the cotyledons and the tiny rootlets which it first sent forth; one asks what nourished it, what bent it as a sapling, what caused this scar, what influence produced the splendid curve of yonder bough. To know a man one does well to read his boyhood letters and to scan his photograph with school diploma in his hand; so to know the present we must examine the past, as Professor J. H. Robinson has indicated in his essay on the "History of History". Knowing how the present situation came about we can then be far more certain of knowing what to do with it. For, Mr. Henry Ford notwithstanding, the past is with us. Maeterlinck saw so clearly how the hand of yesterday lies upon today that he wrote, "There are no dead". In this thrilling sense of the continuity of life lies the hope of mankind; "Looking backward and thinking forward" is the formula of F. S. Marvin, the brilliant Oxford scholar who wrote *The Living Past*. Now as the solitary "home student" sets out upon his enterprise in American History, he may know that he fits himself to be a wiser, better citizen of the Republic.

THE METHOD

In his inaugural address as president of Harvard University, some years ago, Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell quoted with approval a sentiment attributed to President Hadley of Yale: "The ideal college education seems to me to be the one where the student learns things he is not going to use in after life by methods that he is going to use. The former gives the breadth, the latter element gives the training." To take exception to the educational views of two such personages may require some temerity, but one asks why, when there are so many useful things whose learning will develop this same training, a curriculum cannot be devised which neglects the useless. We have tried to show that history as a subject falls within the former class, yet it is believed that the method of study here prescribed—the careful study of a textbook, the use of source material, collateral reading of more elaborate narratives, the notebook, the graphic presentation on the map, the critical review, and the essay with its machinery of scholarship—will be deemed in retrospection, as valuable as the subject matter of the course.

The *syllabus* herewith presented is not intended to convey information, but to suggest how, under the circumstances, the facts may be systematically arranged. It departs considerably from the order of the text book and frequently refers to information not there presented. In such cases the student, according to his diligence and opportunities, will carry his inquiry to the collateral or other reading, making use of indexes, and if finally unsuccessful is to ask the instructor for elucidation. The best procedure is first to look over the outline, fixing its main features in the mind, next carefully to read the assignment in the text, and then thoroughly to study once again the outline rearranging the "material" gained from the book according to its headings and sub-headings.

Thereupon the student is to prepare for his notebook, when required, a digest of the text *according to the syllabus outline*. In summarizing the text he is expected to condense into the fewest words possible the important facts or suggestions in this outline form to show the relation of one to another. So that the method of outlining may be understood, the student may turn to the syllabus, Section II, part I, B and to Bassett's text, pp. 27-30, and then notice how the following summary corresponds:

I. New Spain.

A. Spain in 1492 (see collateral reading).

B. The Caribbean.

a. The Discovery.

1. Columbus in preparation.

(a) Family—obscure wool-workers in Genoa.

- (b) Education—read Latin books on geography, voyages to England and Iceland.
- (c) Ideas—From Toscanelli (letter) and others; could reach east by sailing west; thought earth much smaller.
- 2. Reverses.
 - From John II of Portugal; for a time in Spain; brother Bartholomew in England.
- 3. Engaged by Spain.
 - (a) Privileges—grandee and admiral; right to govern new lands; 1-10 gold and silver; letters to eastern princess.
 - (b) Equipment—\$59,000; 3 small ships, less than 100 men.
- 4. First Voyage—begun Aug. 3, 1492.
 - (a) Canaries; falsifies log to quiet sailors; quells mutiny.
 - Columbus great because dared check theory with investigation.
 - (b) Discovery, Oct. 11, 1492. "San Salvador"—Watling's Island in Bahamas. Cube—India? Hayti called Hispaniola.
- 5. Spanish claim.
 - (a) Colony left by Columbus.
 - (b) Portuguese—Spanish rivalry settled by Bull of Alexander VI (1493) and Treaty of Torresillas (1494).
- b. Colonization; Columbus's second voyage.
 - (*et cetera*)

(Fortunately the narrative is usually susceptible of closer condensation.)

With each text assignment there are citations of certain numbers in Professor A. B. Hart's *American History Told by Contemporaries* (N. Y. 1897 *et seq.*), a work "intended to make broad the highways for those who would visit their forefathers." Professor Hart performed a valuable service to the teaching of history in popularizing the use of *primary sources*, and his reflections upon their place in a general course are fully set forth in his Preface and his Practical Introduction, Vol. I, chaps. i and ii, which are to be read in connection with Section I. In our directions as to the preparation of an historical essay, printed later in this pamphlet, will be found certain remarks on the use of sources in scholarly writing.

Side by side with the references to the text and source-book, which must be read, there will be found notations of more detailed narratives and discussions which are recommended as *collateral reading*. Some one of these books mentioned in each section should be available in the nearest public library, and he who hopes here to derive a benefit comparable with that of a first-rate college course must seek them out. On the other hand, it is feasible for those who lack this opportunity to carry on this home study somewhat less extensively and less valuably without them.

As has been intimated, a *notebook* is to be kept in connection with this course. It should consist of "loose leaves" (ruled, if the work is handwritten) about eight by ten inches in size and with perforations and fasteners at the side. The digest of each text assignment, explained above, is but one of the items to be included in this notebook whenever required; at the end of each section there are specific questions to be answered and directions to be worked out on these pages. It is always desirable, before writing down an answer, to construct it in your mind, so

that it may be stated most clearly and concisely. It is said of the blind historian, Prescott, that he could think through a whole chapter verbatim before beginning to dictate to his amanuensis. Perhaps it is not too much to ask the student to think through at least one sentence before writing it. *At the close of each section the separate sheets of the notebook, which contain its digest and answers are to be sent to the instructor for criticism.* These sheets should be properly numbered, folded lengthwise, and endorsed with the name of the student and that of the course, the number of the section, and the date of mailing.

The *map studies* are sufficiently developed in the present author's *Atlas of American History* (N. Y., 1920), which is a part of the equipment of the course, to make any comment here on this part of the work quite unnecessary. Several *critical reviews* of books and an *essay* will be required, but these are later explained at length.

No academic credit is given for any of the Home Study Courses. Satisfactory completion of the work of this course within one year, however, entitles the student to a Certificate testifying to the fact. To qualify for this Certificate, the student will be required to pass an examination or to submit some work accepted as an equivalent. The details of this will be arranged by the instructor at the completion of the course.

THE CRITICAL REVIEWS

The critic is not a base caviler, but the younger brother of genius. Next to invention is the power of interpreting invention; next to beauty the power of appreciating beauty.—*Margaret Fuller.*

Several times during the year the student will be called upon to prepare a paper on some historical book. If one is going to pass an honest judgment on a work it is clear that the first duty is carefully and thoroughly to read it, taking note of its important features. The author may expect this consideration from the reviewer, for a book is the fruit of toil and thought. The great Petrarch, in speaking of his letters, puts the author's case: "I desire", he says, "that my reader, whoever he may be, should think of me alone, not of his daughter's wedding, his mistress's embraces, the wiles of his enemy, his engagements, horse, lands or money. I want him to pay attention to me. If his affairs are pressing, let him postpone reading the letter, but when he does read, let him throw aside the burden of business and family cares, and fix his mind upon the matter before him. I do not wish him to carry on his business and attend to my letter at the same time. I will not have him gain without any exertion what has not been produced without labor on my part."

After careful reading, with his notes arranged in order, the reviewer begins upon his composition. In such a piece of writing it is obviously well to intrigue the attention of the prospective reader at the start by some remarks of general introduction, to lead him from concerns of his own day's routine into a mood in which he can appreciate the essay which is to be set before him. Since the book is the product of a certain human mind and inevitably bears the marks of its creator's strength or weakness, it is also desirable to discover and to state the bare facts of the author's life and the effect which his environment and the circumstances of his career were bound to have upon his views and his work. What merits, if any, have been ascribed to his work in general? What experience or preparation qualified him to undertake the task in hand? Exactly when and under what conditions was it written?

Thus equipped, the student addresses himself to the review, which is expected to accomplish two quite different ends. In the first place it is expected to furnish bibliographical information about the book, that is, not only in the beginning an accurate statement of the title, author, place, date, pagination, etc. (for example *Alexander Hamilton: An Essay on American Union*. By Frederick S. Oliver. London and New York, 1907—xiii, 502 pp.), but a setting forth of the plan and scope of the work, a clear rehearsal of the main ideas developed and a careful report of the kind of sources and method which the author has apparently used. Were the authorities he cites really contemporaneous records of

the events he here recounts? The seeming formality of such a summary should not dissuade the reviewer from using whatever art he may possess, as an intelligible summary requires not only insight in discerning what is of primary importance, but considerable sympathy and facility to express in a few written pages the substance of a volume. It is hoped that by this practice the student will himself learn to read more intelligently.

So far his point of view has been inside the book, noting and recording its features as a work of scholarship. But this is not all, nor, indeed, has it brought into play the highest powers of the mind. The student must now summon his faculties of criticism wisely to evaluate what he has considered and described. He has indicated in general the author's purpose; it is now his function to sit in judgment to decide in how far that purpose has been realized. Does the book tell you what you wish to know about the subject? Do you find evidence of ill-reasoned organization, *i. e.*, a presentation of certain facts in one connection which might more logically be presented in another? Is there any material which seems to you irrelevant, or does all serve the general purpose? Does the author's style attract or repel the reader? Is there a lack or superfluity of detail, or is there just enough to make clear his pictures or his points? Does he offer a full narrative or does he presuppose the reader's knowledge of the facts, and content himself with comment? Does he seem fair in his interpretation of evidence or do his judgments seem unwarranted by the facts he cites? Why, if at all, should anyone pay money for this book and spend time in reading it? Does it succeed as well as other books you know upon this or similar subjects? Considering the many things that men and women have to do, is it wise to foster interest in such subjects? To whom would you recommend such reading, and why?

These are not questions that can be answered without thought and in thus measuring the book in the larger terms of human experience, the review will gain a value of its own. There is no need, of course, as reference to any number of *The American Historical Review* or various other journals will illustrate, for the reviewer to draw a line between description and criticism, putting into part one what the book says and into part two what is said about it. Rather, as a rule, the two will go side by side to attract or warn the general reading public for whom, it is supposed, the review is prepared.

But perhaps these brief and elementary suggestions should not be brought to a close without a word of caution. From the nature of this little booklet they are intended for students and writers of comparatively small experience and it may seem that a critical review is in itself an enterprise of too much dignity for one with such equipment. Respectable criticism, it is true, will generally come from those who themselves have thought long and fruitfully upon the subjects of the works that they discuss. Even these with all their qualifications should approach a book freshly come to hand with humility and hope, for it may prove a contribution well deserving of a welcome. In Milton's phrase, "A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life"; lest the work that he sets out to study

should prove one of those, no critic can afford to start in flippancy or captiousness. The exercise we here propose is not intended to make literary coxcombs, and the mind should have a reason, sincere and well-considered, before each judgment is set down. Do not too jauntily assume the role of censor. But, it may readily be admitted, experience shows that such counsel is not often necessary. Rather the novice quails before the printed page as something with a magic sacredness, and the too, too gentle reader forgets that he has rights. Even a great work may fall some short of perfection; at least it cannot be immune from shrewd analysis to find wherein its merits lie.

THE TEXTBOOK AND HOW TO USE IT

"Guide, philosopher and friend."

Professor J. S. Bassett's *Short History of the United States* has been selected as the preferred textbook for this course because it seems to be the most serviceable one-volume work prepared in the light of that precise and far-reaching research which has distinguished American university scholarship in the last thirty years. It interprets our history largely in the terms of our political institutions and party struggles, which is still necessary, no doubt, since probably not enough work has been done in the field of historical sociology to make coherent a general account of any other character. The course might be worked out on the basis of Bolton and Marshall's *Colonization of North America*, or Becker's *Beginnings of the American People* and Johnson's *Union and Democracy* (two volumes of the Riverside Historical Series), or Thwaite's *Colonies* and Hart's *Formation of the Union* (both in the Epochs of American History Series). A good text book should meet several tests, which may be simply stated: (1) *completeness* in covering the whole of the subject; (2) *logical arrangement*; (3) *proportion* in its emphasis on the various periods, movements, personalities and other factors; (4) *conciseness* without the sacrifice of clearness; (5) fairness in providing an accurate objective statement of facts; (6) that economy of words which produces the most telling effect, with due attention to sound as well as meaning, and that constant sense of the human worth of the matter presented, which taken together give a *literary* quality. No book ever was or ever will be written which would meet these tests to everybody's satisfaction, and it may seem especially absurd to ask one who gets his stock of information quite largely from this one book to attempt to criticize it. Criticism implies standards of comparison. Yet since this course is planned for people of some maturity and general experience, it seems permissible to ask them to read the text with these tests in mind, and questions will be from time to time addressed to the student to discover how keen has been his insight.

In reading the text, or anything else, it is essential to cultivate the attitude of attention. This may, under many circumstances, require a distinct exercise of the will. To learn history, one must want to learn it; no mere velleity will suffice; the will to learn means more than willingness. As a section is begun, stop a moment to review in your own mind your purpose in taking this course as clearly as you have realized it, and what you intend to look for in the assignment before you. Attention is a positive thing; it is not attained by "clearing the mind" of undesirable preoccupations, but in making sharper the desired object. A motorist who resolves with all his might not to run over a precipice is in a dangerous

state of mind; it is he who thinks wholly of the road he is to follow who makes his goal. Attention thus made active by the will develops into interest where the will becomes unnecessary.

History, or any other subject, is mastered by constantly relating new facts to old; it is this perception of relation that makes facts into knowledge. When one who has read the stories of Champlain and Hudson learns that the English made their first permanent settlement in America in 1607, he naturally pauses to reflect upon the comparative progress at that time of the three powers who led in colonizing the coast north of Florida. In a complex history like that of the thirteen colonies it is necessary now and then to take a conspectus of what was going on in each during a certain year or decade. If the events were similar, were there any common causes operating to produce them? If they were different, what circumstances made them so? Now since causes invariably precede effects, dates are necessary symbols to denote this relation of before and after. If we learn that an event occurred in 1817, we immediately know some important things about it: we know it came at a time when our citizens were still in the mind of victory after 1815, that a sentiment of nationalism was abroad in the land as evidenced by the bank and tariff bills of the year before and the internal improvement bill of that same year, that this spirit of self-confidence would soon lead us on the one hand to a panic, and on the other to a territorial expansion through Florida in 1819, and shortly afterward to the declaration of the doctrine of two hemispheres by President Monroe in 1823. Thus our event of 1817 takes on significance that would not be apparent if we remembered simply that it happened early in the nineteenth century. At first it might appear that if exact dates were to be fixed in mind the memory would soon be over-taxed; but, on the contrary, the more history one knows the easier it is to remember dates as one with a great body of historical knowledge can more easily fit each new fact between two others.

There will be times when the enterprise of this course seems hopeless, when a sense of isolation will be disheartening. The student will say that the task of learning would be immeasurably less arduous in a classroom where there is the mutual inspiration, the play of mind on mind, the atmosphere of a great tradition that fills old college halls, the living personality of a teacher who at this close range meets questions almost before they have been formulated. In this there is much truth, though the student may forget that in a class the stupid slow the pace the abler members would maintain, thus running standards to the average, and that oftentimes in numbers there is distraction as well as strength. But without pushing the comparison too far, for probably he is right that home study is a second-best alternative, he may nevertheless reflect that it was the mode of education of many if not most of the great Americans he reads of in this course.

In moments of discouragement he may recall the awkward figure of a youth sprawled out before the cabin fire-place poring over his few ill-printed books and working out his sums upon a wooden shovel; it was this preparation that produced the First Inaugural and the Gettysburg

Address. As he reads his text and thinks upon it, he may remember that it was at home that George Washington mastered the principles of surveying, that Thomas Hart Benton acquired his breadth of information and that thus Horace Greeley spent his evenings after long days at his types to gain a knowledge that enriched his later editorials with reference to the writers of all time. One of the finest examples of the cultivated gentleman in America was George William Curtis, yet no college could claim credit. It is useless to multiply these instances of what is so obvious and so generally known, that leadership is not beyond the solitary student. It may be carried to the extreme; when one reads of Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, who mastered so many languages while working at the forge, one wonders if his horseshoes fitted and his hinges stood the strain. But most of us need the edification of the homely proverb attributed to Mr. Edison (and to several other people), that "Genius is one part inspiration and ninety-nine parts perspiration." About all any college can do for a man is to give him a taste for home study.

THE HISTORICAL ESSAY

He toiled in the archives, hunting the little fact that makes the difference.

—*Professor Maitland* writing of Lord Acton.

An historical essay of from twenty-five hundred to six thousand words upon some topic selected from within a certain period or field of American history will be required of the student as a part of the term's work. It is to be based upon serious, systematic and extended investigation, and its preparation constitutes not only the most important exercise of this course of study but one of the most valuable experiences in the student's entire education. The method presently to be outlined is in general the method by which a lawyer prepares a brief, a minister a sermon or an author a book; an engineer, an advertising agent or a business expert working out a memorandum for his clients would, in part, follow a similar procedure. As one sets out upon this enterprise, therefore, it should be understood that here may be acquired a technique of inquiry which will be serviceable wherever one essays to learn the substantial truth of any matter, and a technique which the world will value and will even pay for. But most important is the understanding thus developed that the whole truth is not contained in any textbook or in any single work though it reach to several volumes. The reader finds the use and opportunity of a library, with its indexes, encyclopedias and bibliographic aids; he learns how to pick out from each book, pamphlet, report or newspaper the few small parts which bear upon his subject; he develops the power to judge between conflicting statements and to compare the credibility of different sources. The self-respect that comes from thoroughness will in the end be his.

At the proper time and after due reflection on the course as far as he has covered it, each student is asked to express his preference for a particular subject,¹ submitting several titles as suggestions, but definite assignment is obtained by individual arrangement with the instructor. As soon as the student receives his assignment he will make a list of all the major works upon the subject. By consulting the card catalogue of as many libraries as are available he will ascertain what books are entered under his title, though it is unlikely that he will, by this means alone, be able to prepare a very long list, or learn much about the relative value of books. Similarly he will consult Channing, Hart and Turner's *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*, an excellent manual with

¹ Before selecting a subject please inform the instructor as to your library facilities. How near are you to a public library or other considerable collection of books? Has the library the principal standard works on American history? A set of the Congressional Debates, etc.? Any newspaper files? Any special collections of interest to the historian? Make yourself a force in your community for the maintenance of a good library.

references to general and special works; C. K. Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature*; the American Library Association's *Literature of American History*, with its supplement, which arranges works by periods and contains critical estimates of those mentioned; the *Book Review Digest* and the *Cumulative Index*; and the bibliographical essays at the end of each volume of the *American Nation Series*, the desired volume being found, if necessary, by consulting the general index under the topic studied. By using the index the student will receive much help from T. L. Bradford's *Bibliographer's Manual of American History* (5 volumes, revision of 1910), and, if he is patient and persistent, from Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*. The elaborate bibliographies in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* are useful for the earlier part of American history, especially in their references to available source material; the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII, pp. 753-834, contains book lists for the periods of United States history, although unfortunately it includes no descriptive comment; the bibliographies at the end of each chapter in Bassett's *Short History of the United States*, Max Farrand's *Development of the United States*, the *Riverside History of the United States*, etc., refer to many modern special treatises. *Poole's Index*, the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, and the *Annual Library Index* are useful for articles in periodicals; the bibliographies at the end of articles in the *encyclopedias* will often help, especially if one consults the general index for related topics. *Appleton's* and the *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, under the names of the principal persons important in relation to the subject, will suggest some titles, while McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government* and Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Science*, will be of service. For material published since 1902, the student should consult the *Writings of American History* edited by G. C. Griffin and others. A. P. C. Griffin has compiled a *Bibliography of American Historical Societies* and an *Index of Articles upon American Local History*. This array of bibliographical titles may seem sufficiently formidable, but if a student has access to one of the larger libraries, the curator will suggest other aids, for example in the use of public documents. Although, other things being equal, the more books available, the better the essay, no one should feel disheartened if not all the facilities here suggested can be obtained. The standard works like those of McMaster, Von Holst, Osgood, Schouler, Channing, Adams, Rhodes, Hildreth, *The American Nation Series*, etc., are usually to be had and generally a respectable number of biographies and special topical studies.

By all these aids the student will be enabled to gather a large number of titles of books dealing in whole or in part with his subject—perhaps thirty or forty. Each such title should be entered clearly in ink upon a separate card, together with the name of the author, the place and date of publication, a comment based upon a bibliographer's estimate (if any is found in some of the works mentioned above), upon some review appearing soon after the book's publication, or upon the student's own

examination of the book, and some indication of the portion of it dealing directly with his subject.

Supposing, for example, that the student has chosen the "Missouri Compromise" as his subject, one of his cards will appear as follows:

Lucien Carr,

Missouri: a Bone of Contention [American Commonwealth Series] (Boston, 1899), chapters vii-ix.

50 pages devoted to subject, generally in a judicial style, though apparently somewhat resentful of anti-slavery interference.

The cards are *now to be submitted to the instructor* for his examination and advice, a part of the titles possibly being set aside as negligible, under the circumstances, a part indicated indispensable and a part recommended to be used as supplementary, if time admits. It may be that some books that have not been mentioned will occur to the instructor and he will suggest that these be sought.

The student should now read through the account recommended for the purpose, to get a broad view of the subject, and then *prepare an outline* according to the treatment which, in the light of his preliminary information, seems to be best. The following, by no means recommended as perfect or complete, is offered merely as a simple suggestion as to procedure:

I. Historical Background.

1. Early settlement and development of Missouri.
 - a. Origin of population.
 - b. Number and distribution.
2. Slavery in Missouri Territory.
 - a. Extent of slavery. Geographical basis of plantation economy.
 - b. Territorial law on slavery.
3. Application for admission as a state.

- II. Missouri question in 15th Congress.
 1. Balanced condition of the Union.
 2. Changing southern view of slavery
 3. Tallmadge's amendment.
 - a. Influences supporting.
 - b. Arguments for. Moral. Constitutional.
 - c. Influences opposing.
 - d. Arguments against. Moral. Constitutional (*e. g.*, provision in Louisiana treaty of equality of new states with old).
 4. Fate of Tallmadge's amendment.
 5. Public sentiment in the various sections.
- III. Missouri Question in 16th Congress.
 1. Differences in proportional strength of sections.
 2. Application of Maine.
 - a. Relation to Massachusetts.
 3. Proposal to join the two bills.
 - a. Roberts' amendment.
 - i. Discussion on the merits of slavery. *Pinkney vs. King.*
 - b. Burrill's amendment.
 - c. Thomas' amendment.
 - d. The committee of conference.
 4. The Compromise of 1820.
 - a. Final debate and comment. *John Randolph and the Compromise.*
 - b. The bill passed.
- IV. After the First Compromise.
 1. Popular response.
 - a. Comment of individuals and press in different sections.
 - b. Apparent effect upon the anti-slavery movement.
 2. The constitutional convention in Missouri.
 - a. Expression of delegates' opinion on the compromise.
 - b. Treatment of the free-negro question.
 3. Congressional specification as to free-negro question (called "The Second Missouri Compromise").
 - a. Constitutionality of this procedure.
 - b. Action of Missouri.
 4. The electoral count (a third compromise).
 - a. Opinion as to its propriety.
- V. Effect of the Compromise.
 1. Supposed finality.
 2. New questions.
 3. Discontent of south.
 4. Violation of the compromise.

With his outline before him the student now begins to *take notes*. These should be written neatly, in ink, on one side of papers (which are much cheaper than cards) preferably about 5½ in. x 8½ in., running lengthwise of the page, liberal margins being left at the sides, and an entry being made at the top of each paper as to particular *sub-topic developed by the notes on that sheet*, and *book and page references for each item* put in the margin. Each paper, then, is like a pigeon-hole into which is placed all the matter coming under one sub-head of the outline, as it is gleaned from different sources. In a more extensive essay it would doubtless be advantageous to give a separate sheet of paper for each note, properly labelling each, of course, according to the outline scheme, but in a work of the size here contemplated probably the best method is to read through one account at a time distributing the items of fact or comment

each to its appropriate paper, modifying the outline—possibly to the extent of complete rearrangement—and consequently his note-sheets, as experience may suggest.

For example, on beginning the narrative of the compromise in Carr's *Missouri*, the reader finds an account of the number of free and slave states immediately before 1820. He, of course, puts this on his paper marked "Balanced condition of the Union"; (if his outline did not happen to contain this sub-topic, he would now supply the omission). This paper would then look something like this:

Balanced condition of the Union

Carr	Mississippi's admission, 1817, made 10 slave and 10
<i>Missouri</i>	free. Ill., Dec. 1818; Ala., Dec. 1819; balance kept
p. 139	without stipulations imposed. Mo. applies for admission (as slave state).

If in some other book there is found something more upon the "Balanced condition of the Union", it will naturally be recorded, with its reference citation, on this same paper. If there are a number of notes on this sub-topic another paper similarly headed will be used. On page 142 of Carr's book there is a discussion of arguments against the Tallmadge amendment; on page 143, arguments in favor; on page 147, observations on violation of the compromise. All these will be recorded on their appropriate papers, the notes on these sub-topics to be supplemented from other books. Sometimes an extract, especially a quotation from a contemporary, is better directly transcribed in full than abstracted.

At the end a single paper may look thus:

John Randolph and the Compromise.

McMaster, Vol. V p. 591	When in com. of conference 18 northerners changed to vote vs. restriction, R. calls them "dough-faces", a name used for 40 yrs. to denote northern men with southern principles.
<i>Annals of Congress</i> 1819-1821 pp. 1588- 1590	Morning after compromise passed R. moved reconsideration while bill still in Speaker Clay's hands. Declared out of order while morning's business unsettled. Clay, alarmed, sent bill post-haste to Senate and said no jurisdiction.
J. Q. Adams <i>Memoirs</i> , V, 4.	R. never forgave Clay for this trickery.
same, V, 277	"Floyd and Randolph were for bringing Missouri into the Union by storm, by bullying a majority into a minority."
Hildreth, VI, 691 <i>et seq.</i>	R. calls comp. a "dirty bargain".
H. Adams <i>Randolph</i> , pp. 272- 274	R. though claiming to detest slavery believed in self-determination for states and hated Clay who bent all to nationalism. (See notes on Clay.)

Sometimes the student will find he has put an item under a heading less appropriate than some other; by the use of scissors, pins and paste-pot he may easily transfer it to its proper place. After all this work has been done, he will arrange his papers in the order he intends to follow in writing, and *submit the notes to the instructor* for criticism.

When the notes are returned the student has before him the material for his essay, and it will not be found difficult to write when he so obviously has something to say. But to write well is nearly always difficult. In general, it will be agreed, the essay should stick to facts; it should be based upon the notes. However, the writer should make his facts his own, relate them one to another through his understanding of the tendencies at work in those times whose story he is telling, and should write his narrative with the spirit and coherence of his own style. Of course, it may occasionally be advisable to use the exact words of a book or article, in which case quotation marks should indicate the precise extent of the direct quotation. Taking for data our notes on "John Randolph and the Constitution", we may imagine ourselves constructing a narrative something like this:

This first great legislative battle in the contest for the western territories had revealed the character of the warring forces and their leaders. Those with Rufus King stood firmly for free soil in all the future states; those with Pinkney crusaded for the general spread of slavery as a blessing; John Randolph, while claiming to detest that institution, maintained the right of self determination and control for every state as guaranteed by the Constitution; Henry Clay presented an ideal which he claimed worth the sacrifice of all these principles, the solidarity of the nation achieved through compromise, and apparently he had prevailed.¹ Randolph, in particular, hated Clay and this unjust exaltation of the nation at the cost of states.² Those northerners who were converted by this compromiser's arguments he stigmatized as "dough faces", a name of derision and contempt which for forty years was fastened upon "northern men with southern principles".³ It was a "dirty bargain" that these nationalists had made,⁴ and should be reconsidered before it was too late.

On the morning following the final vote, while the bill lay on the Speaker's desk unsigned, Randolph rose and desired to move this reconsideration so that all restrictions might be stricken from it. In alarm Clay ruled him out of order and declared that the morning's business as set down upon the calendar must be considered first. But, in the course of this routine, while Randolph waited for his opportunity, the Speaker signed and sent the bill post-haste to the Senate. When at last the question came, he answered that the matter was no longer within the jurisdiction of the House.⁵ This sharp practice John Randolph could never forget or forgive.⁶ It had finally frustrated his plan to bring Missouri in by storm regardless of all opposition.⁷

1 *Supra*. pp. 14, 17, 18. Cf. C. Schurz, *op.cit.* pp. 172-182.

2 Henry Adams, *John Randolph*, pp. 272-274.

3 J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 591.

4 Richard Hildreth, *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 691 *et seq.*

5 *Annals of Congress*, 1819-1821, pp. 1588-1590.

6 J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, Vol. V, p. 4.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 277. The comment is in Adams' acrid humor: "Floyd and Randolph were for bringing Missouri into the Union by storm, by bullying a majority into a minority".

In this sample of narrative it will be noticed that the second sentence refers to matters which we suppose to have been developed earlier in the paper, say on pages 14, 17 and 18; consequently we refer to those pages as "above", using, according to custom, the Latin word *supra*, which because it is from a foreign language is Italicized; if we were asking the reader to compare this statement with something to be found later, on page 24, we would use instead the word *infra*. It seems well also to refer the reader to Carl Schurz's *Henry Clay* where that statesman's views on nationalism are more fully developed. Inasmuch as we desire, or at least suggest to the reader to compare what is here said with what Schurz says, we write *cf.*, which stands for the Latin word *confer*, meaning compare. But it is supposed that previously in the paper there have been references to this work, so that we say *op. cit.*, which is the abbreviation of *opere citato*, or "in the work cited". When, however the citation is to the same work as immediately before on the same page, as is the case in note seven, we use the expression *ibid.*, which is an abbreviation for the Latin word *ibidem* meaning "in the same place". In our reference to Hildreth we cite Page 91, and those immediately following, as *et seq.*, which stands for *et sequentes*, having that significance. If we referred to material scattered through a book, we would write after the title the word *passim*, an adverb meaning "here and there". When we mention for a second time an article found in a reference book or some other collection, we might give the name of the particular author and the general work and then write *loc. cit.*, for *loco citato*, "in the place cited". Errors in spelling or other absurd mistakes in the source or author quoted should be transcribed if you make a direct quotation, thought immediately to be followed by the Latin word *sic* in parenthesis indicating that the original is "thus". At first it may appear that such devices are pedantic and that English words would do quite as well, but they are the standard expressions of scholarship and any departure from them would probably make for confusion rather than clearness.

But, it will be asked, why have footnotes at all? Do they not destroy the symmetry of the page, distract attention from the body of the narrative, and give the reader an uncomfortable feeling that the author takes the opportunity to display his erudition? Certainly these questions deserve a patient answer, for footnotes are not mere irritating nuisances tolerated by reason of tradition, nor are they generally set forth to gratify the writer's vanity. In the first place, in the footnotes may be given direct quotations or other information or critical statements which for some reason do not seem to fit well into the text, as is illustrated in our footnote seven. Secondly, they furnish bibliographical aid to the reader; if anything in the text so arouses his interest that he would seek more knowledge on that matter, the corresponding note, in pointing out the source on which the stated fact or judgment has been based, suggests that there, perhaps, may be found more information of a similar kind. As H. H. Bancroft once remarked, writing on this subject in his *Literary Industries*, "The historian should leave the ladder by which he has climbed". Thirdly, the self-imposed obligation to cite his authorities pro-

vides an excellent discipline for the writer himself, saving him very probably from hasty generalizations and statements that he could not prove. Blaine's *Twenty Years of Congress* is a work of considerable value, but must be read with constant caution because of the author's carelessness as to particular facts and summary judgments. "If Blaine", observes the historian Rhodes¹ "had felt the necessity of giving authorities in a footnote for every statement about which there might have been a question, he certainly would have written an entirely different sort of a book."

The footnotes, too, enable the well informed reader more intelligently to judge the credibility of the narrative. If the citation is to a notoriously unreliable authority, the statement will be taken as tinged with the partisanship or other inaccuracy which is known to characterize the original. The opportunities which the author cited has enjoyed as to gaining knowledge of the event, of course make his testimony more or less valuable as the case may be. This introduces the very important question as to what are sources in history and how they may differ in value.

A primary or original source is the record or testimony of one who had personal knowledge of the event, person, place or object described; or it may be an object itself which has been made by man, such as a pyramid in Egypt, or which has conditioned man's effort, such as the battle-field of Gettysburg. We are, of course, chiefly dependent on written testimony. An original source is the work of a contemporary, though that in itself is not enough, *e.g.*, the testimony of DeWitt Clinton who was governor of New York in 1820 would not be a good source on the transactions of the conference committee on the Missouri Compromise in Washington, though it might have great value as a source on the state of public opinion in New York on the compromise. We must remember that in one sentence or paragraph a writing may be an original source and in another sentence on the same page not an original source. On our specimen page two original sources are cited. The *Annals of Congress* are made up of stenographic reports taken on the spot and constitute what is probably a reliable record, as far as it goes, of what Randolph and Clay said and did in the Senate on Tuesday, March 2, 1820. John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State was closely in touch with affairs, and he might be expected to know the opinions of Randolph; later in association with Clay he, too, had to feel the lash of Randolph's tongue. His observations were jotted down each night with slight revision, and hence have much greater value than would reminiscences written by a man in old age, when his recollection would be vague and pieced out by recourse to historical material as available for the historian today as it was for him. However, Adams was a man of strong prejudices and it would be better if we had more testimony on these points to add to his; indeed, a historical fact can hardly be said to be established until we have an agreement of at least two competent witnesses. It is obvious, also, that were Adams always cool and judicial he would yet not be the very best authority on Randolph's opinion. Would it not be more satisfactory if in the manuscript letters of Randolph, such as

¹ *American Historical Association Report*, 1900, Vol. I, p. 56.

those preserved in the Library of Congress, we might find his own statement on this matter? Even then it would affect its reliability if it were made to a sympathetic friend like Governor Nicholson or to some constituent, personally unknown, who had solicited a statement, or if it were made the morning before his duel with Clay in 1826, or in 1831 when he is reported to have been "weakened by age, excesses and disease." Thus even an "original source" may have greater or less value according to the circumstances.

Generally speaking, such a source when available is better than the narrative or comment even of such reputable writers as Carl Schurz, Henry Adams, McMaster or Hildreth, but practically such secondary material must, very often be employed in historical composition. One must only keep in mind that other things being equal, the value of a narrative is in direct ratio to its nearness to the original source. A fresh illustration may suffice to show this truth.

Suppose that among the archives of Connecticut there is the clerk's manuscript of a militia law passed in 1670 requiring a quarterly muster and training of all able-bodied men, and that soon after enactment the law was printed. An historian of Connecticut is sufficiently impressed as he reads this old volume to give a page and a half of the law. A special student preparing a monograph on defense in the colonial period consults this history of Connecticut and devotes perhaps a page to this measure of 1670. A scholar writing a great "monumental" work on the colonies makes mention of the law as he finds it described in this monograph. Professor A. in putting together his textbook reads among other things this standard work on colonial history and gives a few lines to Connecticut's militia as it was organized about the time of King Philip's War. A journalist, writing an article on universal military service, remembers the passage in Professor A's book and includes what he can recall of the features of the law. The Honorable B. C. D. in addressing his constituents on the Fourth of July with respect to the obligations of citizenship makes a reference to this article he has recently read in a popular magazine, which sets forth how the fathers of New England looked upon duty of all men to fight for their country. The speech is printed in the local paper and the law is discussed by Colonel E. at breakfast next morning. Mrs. E., who listens to the Colonel, is thus ten degrees removed from the original source and the liability of error in her statement to the Women's Club on this subject is very great.

But, of course, history need not be presented in strict progression according to the clock and calendar of time. As he synthesizes the data in his mind the author may conclude to abandon the chronological arrangement and treat his subject by topics, for it is possible to write in this manner history, or even biography, as has been done so admirably by P. L. Ford in his *Many-Sided Franklin* and *True George Washington*, and in Gamaliel Bradford's *Lee*. It would be possible therefore for us entirely to recast our outline as follows:

- I National enthusiasm for western settlement.
 - 1. Circumstances of settlement.
 - 2. References in contemporary literature.
 - 3. References in the compromise debate.
- II State and federal relations as discussed in the debate.
- III American Parliamentary practice as exhibited in the debate.
- IV Arguments for slavery about 1820.
- V Arguments against slavery about 1820.
- VI The free negro and citizenship as discussed in the debate.
- VII The expediency of compromise in our federal system as discussed in the debate.

Some subjects might thus be presented with superior convenience and clarity; but, in the purely topical method of synthesis, there is lost the sense of continuity and integration which are characteristics of social as well as other life.

Would it not be better to combine the advantages of the two methods by pausing here and there in the general chronological account to treat in topical expansion the controlling tendency or the theme which seems dominant in the thought of the particular day or time which has been reached? For example, when we get to III,3, in our chronological outline, we might decide that this is an appropriate place to discuss, for a little space, the idea of compromise as operative in previous American history—in the great constitutional convention, legislative contests on the tariff, etc.—just as a general summary of the contemporary views on slavery which were revealed throughout the discussion and which we have indicated in our topical scheme under items IV and V might well be set forth in connection with the famous speeches of Pinkney and King mentioned as III, 3, b, in our first outline.

In his little book on *The Writing of History* (New Haven, 1920, pp. 141-142), Professor F. M. Fling gives a clear succinct direction as to how one may include topical expansions in a chronological narrative: "Follow one series as long as it occupies the center of the stage, allowing the other series to drop out of sight. When the interest shifts to another series, drop the first, but before following the new series from the point where it impinges on the old, pick up as many of the back threads of the new series as may be necessary for the understanding of what is to follow."

When the completed essay is submitted it should be accompanied by the outline and a bibliography. In the preparation of the last the various materials should be classified as "Primary Sources" and "Other Sources" using the word source in its broadest sense. Under the former heading one should put into separate groups manuscripts, public documents, newspapers, contemporary printed accounts including pamphlets, memoirs and autobiographies, etc. In the second class should come general histories, local histories, monographs, biographies, etc. Our previous discussion of sources should make clear this scheme of classification. To give one more

example: if the career of Martin Van Buren were under examination, George Bancroft's biography written in the forties would be a primary source, because of the personal acquaintance of the author with the subject, while Edward Morse Shepard's *Life*, published in 1888, though a far more useful work, would not. With the complete citation of each book taken from your cards should go your comment on its value based on your own experience. Thus the bibliography becomes an important part of your contribution, resulting as it does from thoughtful and intelligent investigation and criticism.

In conclusion we may say that the essay should demonstrate the writer's ability to combine and digest information derived from a number of sources, and the final product should represent a work as original as that of a poet or a builder. Sentences should be rewritten until they satisfy in meaning and in sound, until the author has the feeling of the artist, that he lacks no word and no word can be spared, for scholarship and artistry, truth and power, are complementary in the great achievements of historians. The effectiveness of presentation will be carefully considered in the critic's judgment, and a paper is as likely to be sent back with a mark of "flossy", "annalistic" or "disjointed", as it is to be condemned as "thin in substance" or "conclusions unwarranted by the facts".

SECTION I

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

TEXT: Bassett, *Short History of the United States* (N. Y., 1920), pp. 1-27, 34; H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America* (N. Y., 1920), pp. 1-6; Carl Becker, *Beginnings of the American People* (Boston, 1915), pp. 1-24, 48-54; R. G. Thwaites, *The Colonies* (N. Y., 1891), pp. 1-22.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. vii-viii, 1-27; Nos. 16, 38, 60, 152, Vol. II, No. 116.

MAP STUDY: Fox, *Atlas*, pp. 101-110, and Map Studies Nos. 1 and 3.

Collateral Reading: E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History* (N. Y., 1904), chaps. i-iv, vii, ix, x; L. Farrand, *Basis of American History* (N. Y., 1904); C. J. H. Hayes, *History of Modern Europe* (N. Y., 1916), Vol. I, chaps. i-v.

I. The Old World.

- A. The world as known to Western Europe in 1000 A. D.
 - a. To scholars.
 - b. To the average peasant.
- B. Trade between Europe and the Orient.
 - a. Influence of the Crusades.
 - b. Character and importance.
 - 1. Commodities, routes and hazards.
 - 2. Conduct by municipal gilds. Part played by Italians.
 - c. Discontent with the old methods.
 - 1. Rising costs in fifteenth century, due to (a) European population outgrowing slow methods of supply; (b) Long continued adverse balance of trade drains off specie.
 - 2. New national states—England, France, Spain, Portugal and, later, the Netherlands and Sweden—desire their own and more direct routes (considered later in detail).
 - 3. Finally the conquest of the Levant, including Constantinople (1453), by barbarous and intolerant Ottoman Turks emphasizes the need for new routes.
 - 4. Decline of the cities in south-central Europe.
- C. Progress of Geographical and Nautical Science.
 - a. Mediaeval travels.
 - 1. Contact with Mongols after their conquest of Russia.
 - 2. Traders and missionaries penetrate the Orient.
 - 3. Northmen and other pre-Columbian voyagers.
 - b. Improvements in maritime science. New instruments. Better maps and ships. Effect of the Renaissance on knowledge of the globe. Knowledge diffused by printing.
 - c. Ventures into the "Sea of Darkness" beyond Gibraltar. Discovery of the Madeiras and Azores.
- D. The Commercial Revolution.
 - a. The Portuguese and the Cape route to the East.
 - b. The search for a westward passage. Columbus and his followers (considered later).

- c. Characteristics of sea commerce.
 - 1. National trade. Large fleets. Chartered commercial companies.
 - 2. Effects of commercial revolution on European society.
- E. Religious Discontent.
 - a. Missionary motive in exploration, especially in Southern Europe.
 - b. Crusading zeal.
 - c. The Protestant Secession in Northern Europe.
 - 1. The old idea of a state church.
 - 2. The state church remains Catholic in France, as well as in Spain and Portugal, which are almost untouched by the Protestant movement.
 - 3. The state church becomes Protestant in England, the United Netherlands, Sweden, etc., etc.
 - 4. Intolerance, natural to the state-church idea, produces refugees in both Catholic and Protestant countries.
- F. National Rivalry.
 - a. Effect of the new patriotism on mediaeval ideals.
 - 1. Of local loyalties.
 - 2. Of world control by one great state and one great church.
 - b. The new patriotism calls for national growth at the expense of rivals in (1) wealth by trade (2) territory (3) prestige.
 - c. Rivalries bearing on American history:
 - (1) Spain and Portugal,
 - (2) Spain and France,
 - (3) Spain and England, culminating in the defeat of the Armada,
 - (4) Spain and Holland.

II. The New World

- A. Physical factors in United States History.
 - a. Size, position and extent of the land of the United States.
 - b. Climate. Temperature and rainfall.
 - c. Topography. Character of coast. Geographic provinces. Waterways.
 - d. Natural resources.
 - 1. Soil. Effect of glaciation. Effect of rivers.
Obvious social results of soil sections.
 - 2. Forests.
 - 3. Animal products of value.
 - 4. Unimportance of minerals in early history of the United States.
- B. The Native Races.
 - a. Sources of our knowledge of Indians.
 - b. Antiquity of man in America.
 - c. Number and distribution.
 - 1. Great language stocks.
 - 2. Chief Indian tribes.
 - d. Indian society. Organization. Homes, Industry, Religion.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION I

- A. What benefit do you expect to get from this course?
- B. Make a digest of the text-assignment in Bassett's *History* according to directions given in the statement on the Method of the Course.
- C. *General Questions.*

Note: These questions are based on the entire lesson and should not be answered until all the reading has been done. It will be noticed that Nos. 1, 2, 7, 8 and 9 cannot be adequately answered without the help of Hart's *Con-*

temporaries, while Nos. 24, 25, 26 and 27 suppose a careful reading of the *Atlas*.

1. What do you understand by a source?
2. What do you think of the desirability of source study in such a course as this?
3. Why is it thought necessary to give so much attention to the European background of American history?
4. In dealing with causes of the desire for new trade routes in the fifteenth century, what difference in emphasis do you discover between the syllabus outline and the text book?
5. What would you think to have been the influence of the Crusades upon the demand for eastern goods in northern Europe?
6. Why is so little attention paid to Norse and other pre-Columbian discoveries?
7. What is the nature of the records of Norse explorations?
8. What were the motives of the Norsemen?
9. What evidence is there that they actually made a settlement in America for a time?
10. What was the effect of the revival of classical learning upon geographical knowledge?
11. Why were Europeans so anxious to find gold and silver mines?
12. What was the importance of Marco Polo's book about Cathay and Cipangu?
13. Why, in your opinion, was it Portugal which carried on the explorations along the African coast?
14. What was the effect of the slave trade on these explorations?
15. Can you think of any reasons why Africa was not extensively colonized, while America was?
16. What was the special merit of Columbus?
17. Contrast in as many ways as you can the trade between Europe and the Orient in 1300 A. D. with that in 1600.
18. What do you regard the importance of the Commercial Revolution in world history?
19. What do you understand by nationalism?
20. What was the connection, if any, between the development of the national spirit and the Protestant Secession?
21. Do you think that most of the Protestant leaders were tolerant of opposing views?
22. (a) What were the causes and characteristics of the Anglo-Spanish rivalry? (b) How do you account for the defeat of the Armada? (c) What was the significance of this defeat?
23. Why were there no German colonies?
24. What do you understand by the term "anthropogeography"?
25. In the light of its study can you suggest reasons why one great nation has developed between the Great Lakes, the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean?
26. Against what misconception of history would you think the student of anthropogeography might well be on his guard?
27. What reasons can you find for map study besides those connected with this science?
28. Can you see any reason why the word "pre-historic" is going out of use?
29. Thomas Jefferson once remarked that perhaps the ideal condition of society would be to have no government, like the American Indians. What do you think of his illustration?
30. What has been the effect upon the Indians of contact with the whites?
31. What is your opinion of the Indians as offering a field for Christian missionaries in the colonial period?
32. Give a brief resume of the life of the Indians of Virginia as portrayed by Secretary William Strachey in 1618 (Hart, I, No. 60).

D. *Optional Questions on Collateral Reading.*

1. a) Why were chartered companies deemed essential to the new trade, and (b) What forms did they take?
2. What were the effects of the Commercial Revolution on European society?
3. Might Columbus have received valuable hints when as a boy he voyaged to Iceland?
4. Were the Indians themselves immigrants?
5. Write on the position of woman in Indian society.
6. Why did the whites overestimate the number of the Indians?
7. Write paragraphs on two other topics.

MAPS

May Studies Nos. 1 and 3

SECTION II

THE FOUNDING OF THE SPANISH, FRENCH AND DUTCH COLONIAL EMPIRES IN AMERICA

TEXTS Bassett, pp. 27-40, 35-36, 111-115, 72-76; Bolton and Marshall, pp. 7-103, 164-178; Becker, pp. 24-39, 44, 45, 106, 130-131; Thwaites, pp. 23-24, 25, 27-36, 42-51, 103, 104, 162-164, 196-205, 236-238, 245-252.

SOURCE READING: Hart, I. Nos. 17-19, 21, 24-26, 29-31, 39-42, 44-46, 48, 154, 155; II, 111, 112.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Studies Nos. 2 and 4.

Collateral Reading: Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (N. Y., 1912), Vol. I, chaps. i-iv, xvi-xvii; E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America* (N. Y., 1904), chaps. i-ix; R. G. Thwaites, *France in America* (N. Y., 1905), chap. i; Richard Hildreth, *History of the United States of America* (N. Y., 1849), Vol. I, chaps. v, xiii.

Note: The non-English empires are studied here so that the student by comparison can come to a truer understanding of the English settlements and system.

I. New Spain.

A. Spain in 1492.

B. The Caribbean

a. The discovery.

1. Columbus in preparation: family, education, ideas.
2. Reverses.
3. Engaged by Spain: privileges, equipment.
4. First voyage: route, hardships, discovery.
5. Spanish claim: Papal bull.

b. Colonization: Columbus's second voyage.

c. Determination of the coast-line.

1. Columbus's third and fourth voyage.
 - (a) The "Novus Mundus". Columbus's character and fate.
 - (b) The beginning of the search for a passage.
2. Hojeda and Amerigo Vespucci.
 - (a) The naming of America.
 - (1) Extension of name.
3. The Spanish Main. De Leon, 1513.

C. Determination of the general character and position of America.

- a. The Cabots, 1497.
- b. The Portuguese: Corte-Real, Cabral, 1500.
- c. Balboa, 1513.
- d. Magellan, 1520-1521.

D. The Conquest of Mexico and Peru.

E. Exploration of the interior of North America.

- a. De Narvaez, 1528—.
- b. De Vaca, —1536.
- c. Friar Marcos, 1539.

- d. Coronado, 1540-1542.
- e. De Soto, 1539-1543.
- F. Motives of Spanish colonization.
 - a. On the part of the statesmen.
 - b. On the part of the colonists.
- G. The Spanish Colonial System.
 - a. Relative importance of home control and local liberty.
 - b. Method of government in America.
 - c. Religious factor.
 - d. Economic character.
 - e. Home life of colonists. Social distinctions.
 - f. Treatment of natives. Slavery.
- H. Number and distribution of colonists.

II. New France.

- A. France in 1524.
- B. French fishermen.
- C. France in the search for the north-west passage:
 - a. Verranzano, 1524.
 - b. Cartier, 1534, 1535.
- D. The Huguenot enterprise, 1564-1565.
- E. Champlain and the lower St. Lawrence Valley.
- F. Motives of French colonization.
 - a. On the part of the statesmen.
 - b. On the part of the colonists.
- G. The French Colonial System.
 - a. Relative importance of home control and local liberty.
 - b. Method of government in America.
 - c. Religious factor.
 - d. Economic character.
 - e. Home life of colonists. Social distinctions.
 - f. Treatment of natives.
- H. Expansion of New France: Louisiana, West Indies.
- I. Number and distribution of colonists.

III. New Netherland.

- A. The United Netherlands in 1609.
- B. The Dutch East India Co.; the voyage of Hudson.
- C. The Dutch West India Co.
 - a. Truce with Spain ended.
 - b. Founding of New Netherland.
- D. Motives of Dutch colonization.
 - a. On the part of the statesmen.
 - b. On the part of the colonists.
- E. The Dutch Colonial Systems.
 - a. Relative importance of home control and local liberty.
 - b. Method of government in America.
 - 1. Executive,
 - 2. Rudiments of legislature,
 - 3. Local government.
 - c. Religious factor.
 - d. Economic character.
 - e. Home life of colonists. Social distinctions.
 - f. Treatment of natives.

- F. Expansion of New Netherland.
 - a. By trading posts.
 - b. By conquest of New Sweden.
- G. Number and distribution of colonists.
- H. Fall of New Netherland.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION II

Note: The syllabus outline calls for more elaborate treatment of these subjects than is given in the textbook. The student is advised to do as much of the collateral reading as possible.

A. Make a digest of the text assignment following the syllabus outline as far as the amount of information permits.

B. *General Questions.* (Some answers must be entirely from the collateral reading.)

1. Notwithstanding the fact that the Commercial Revolution destroyed the prosperity of the Italian towns, did their citizens play any important part in its important voyages? How do you account for the facts you offer as evidence?

2. Write a statement about two pages long comparing the Spanish, French and Dutch colonial empires with respect to the relative importance of the government and private speculators in *promoting the project* of colonies and in their control after foundation.

3. Briefly characterize Christopher Columbus. What is the most important source of our information about his first voyage (Hart I, No. 17)? Suppose you were asked to make a Columbus Day address, what points would you emphasize?

4. Which European power had by 1690 accomplished the most in America? (In 1690, there were about 200,000 whites in the English colonies, negro slaves, and a few Christianized Indians.) Give reasons and evidence to support your answer.

5. What motives do you find common to colonial enterprise as far as you have studied?

6. In your opinion, which of the non-English peoples treated the Indians in the way that was best (a) for the natives themselves, and (b) for the world?

7. In French estimation what was the comparative value of New France and the French West Indies?

8. Can you give an example of disaster such as might come any time to an unprotected colony?

9. Why did New France fall?

10. Why did the Dutch East India Company employ the Englishman, Henry Hudson?

11. Why were serious efforts at settling New Netherland delayed until 1623?

12. To what do you attribute the failure of the "patroon system" as a means of the general development of New Netherland? Was there anything like it in New France?

13. Do you think that Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker History* has helped or hindered us to an understanding of the Dutch and New Netherland? Why?

14. Osgood, in his *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, remarks that New Netherland "had a government fit for a trading post". What does he mean?

15. Why did New Netherland fall? (See also Hart I, Nos. 154 and 155.)

16. What were the motives for founding New Sweden?

C. *Questions specifically as source reading.* References are to volume and number.

1. What things about the Indians seem most to have impressed Columbus? (I, 17).

2. Were the recipients of the land assigned by Alexander VI laid under any obligations? (I, 18).

3. What was the fate of Columbus? Why? (I, 19).
4. What evidence do you find of Cortez's competence for his task? (I, 21).
5. What economic resources did Coronado hope for in the Kansas-Nebraska region? What did he find? (I, 24).
6. In Phillips' narrative of Mexico in 1568 (I, 25), what light is thrown on (a) the labor problems and (b) religious liberty?
7. Why did few or no Indians live along the shores of Lake Champlain? (I, 39).
8. What do you think of the Jesuits' courage as exhibited by Father Isaac Jogues? (I, 40).
9. What do you think of the influence of Louis XIV (and Colbert) on the development of New France? (I, 41).
10. Why did Marquette and Joliet go no further than the mouth of Arkansas? (I, 42).
11. What article of Indian invention and manufacture made possible so extensive a fur trade for the French? Why? What natural condition encouraged it? What national characteristics aided them? What advantages did the English have? (II, 111).
12. Can you put into the graphic form of a chart the governmental scheme of New France as described by Peter Kalm (II, 112)?

MAP STUDY

Map Studies Nos. 2 and 4.

SECTION III

THE PLANTING OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES

TEXT Bassett, pp. 35, 41-58, 88-89; Bolton and Marshall, pp. 104-134, 159-163, 183-189; Becker, pp. 39-80; Thwaites, pp. 25, 36-44, 51-56, 65-87.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, Nos. 24, 25, 29, 30, 31 44-46, 48, 50, 53, 63-67, 69, 72, 73, 75.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 5.

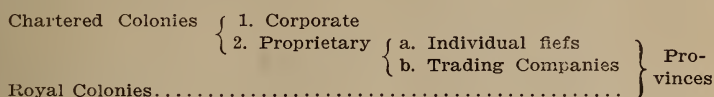
Collateral Reading: L. G. Tyler, *England in America* (N. Y., 1904), pp. 3-148; E. Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 115-268, Vol. II, pp. 499-507; John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* (Boston, 1897), Vol. I, pp. 1-318, Vol. II, pp. 1-107.

I. The Early Ventures of the English.

- A. The Cabots and the discovery of the North American continent.
- B. English indifference to colonial enterprise in the early sixteenth century.
- C. Causes of new interest.
 - a. Emergence of England as a maritime nation.
 - 1. Importance of fishing.
 - 2. Slave trade. Hawkins.
 - 3. Other reasons.
 - b. Rivalry with Spain.
 - 1. Dynastic quarrel.
 - 2. Buccaneering.
Exploits of Hawkins and Drake.
 - 3. The navy. The Armada.
 - c. Social and economic conditions in Elizabethan England.
 - 1. Evictions of field laborers due to introduction of sheep-farming. Pauperism. Theory of over-population. Religious intolerance. Kidnapping.
 - 2. New industries call for materials and markets.
 - 3. The doctrine of mercantilism. Outrivaling other nations in the accumulation of treasure, generally by advantageous trade.
- D. Influence of Richard Hakluyt.
- E. Raleigh's and Gilbert's enterprises.
- F. English Colonial System as suggested by these early colonies.
 - a. Relative importance of governmental aid and the enterprise of "private generous undertakers". Feudal element.
 - b. Method of government in America.
 - c. Causes of failure of the early colonies.

Note: In this lesson it will be necessary in speaking of the government of the colonies to use the terms "chartered," "proprietary," "royal," and "provincial"; a few words of preliminary explanation will be helpful. None of the thirteen colonies was founded as a royal colony, but the general tendency was for them to become so from Virginia in 1624 to Georgia in 1752. In other words, all of the colonies as soon as they had any recognized government at all, were given charters which they retained until they passed into the royal form. Pennsylv-

vania (and Delaware), Maryland, Connecticut and Rhode Island, were the only colonies which retained their charters until the time of the Revolution. Charters were usually issued to proprietors, who might be either an incorporated company in England (e.g., Virginia) or a group in England (e.g., Carolina), or an individual (e.g., Maryland); or they might be granted to a company of actual colonists (e.g., Connecticut, 1662) in which case the colony was known as a "corporation on the spot" and, owning itself, was practically self-governing though not necessarily democratic in the sense of welcoming everyone who came to membership in the company. In such cases many of the inhabitants were not members, or "freemen", or voters. The term province cuts across the classification, being applied to proprietary chartered colonies and to royal colonies. In the latter class, the king's authority over the colonists was direct through his governor. The general term province is a convenient one in this application because the institutions in these two types of colonies, proprietary and royal, were somewhat alike and in both unlike those of the corporate colonies such as Connecticut. The following diagram will present in summary what has been said.



"Colonization, like many other social activities, has owed its origin and development to the co-operation of private enterprise with government patronage and control. The forms which colonial systems assume depend largely on the way in which these two elements are combined." H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (N. Y., 1904), Vol I, p. 3.

II. The scheme of chartered colonies in 1606.

- A. The formation of the London and Plymouth Companies.
 - a. Source of capital.
 - b. Geographical arrangement.
 - c. Governmental arrangement.
 1. In England. Powers; privileges; part played by royal government.
 2. In America.
 - (a) Council.
 - (b) Position of colonists with respect to (1) ownership of property, (2) participation in government.
 - d. Mutual obligation of investors and colonists.
 - e. Preliminary voyages.
- B. Plantations: Sagadahoc (Plymouth Co.) and Virginia (London Co.)

III. Virginia.

- A. Origin and application of the name.
- B. Early mistakes and sufferings.
 - a. Dissensions due to form of government. Services of John Smith.
 - b. Situation of Jamestown. Health statistics.
 - c. Economic system.
 - d. Character of settlers.
 - e. Demands of company.
 - f. Other troubles. Indians, fire, etc.
- C. Reorganization and Reforms.
 - a. Charter of 1609. Virginia Company. Boundaries (important consequences).

- ("As a result of the charter of 1609, the planters gained no liberties, though the corporation gained many such." Osgood, Vol. I, p. 59.)
- b. Dale's reforms. Governor's character. Instructions. "Laws Divine and Martiall."
 - c. Expansion of colony. Mode.
 - d. Charter of 1612. Provision for change in economic system.
- D. The "Great Charter of 1618"; a grant from, not to, the company.
- a. Political parties in England.
 - 1. Court party. Theory of kingship. Spanish influence.
 - 2. Country party. Criticism of James I. English constitutional principles.
 - b. Influence of parties in the Virginia Company.
 - 1. Court party. Defection of Warwick.
 - 2. Country party. Personality and policies of Sir Edwin Sandys (pronounced "Sands"). Sandys-Southampton régime.
 - c. A colony for home-builders.
 - 1. Provisions for growth.
 - (a) "Head rights."
 - (b) "Incorrupt maids."
 - 2. Self-government for planters.
 - 3. Plans for economic development.
 - 4. Provisions for cultural development.
- E. Tobacco
- a. Early history of tobacco.
 - b. Introduction of tobacco culture in Virginia.
 - c. Beginnings of forced labor on the plantations.
- F. The fall of the Company.
- a. Causes.
 - 1. King's personal feeling toward Sandys and his ideas.
 - 2. Influence of Spain.
 - 3. Indian troubles.
 - 4. Misrepresentation.
 - b. Method of procedure against Company.
 - c. Charter quashed, 1624.

IV. Maryland.

- A. Position of Catholics in England. Law. Practice.
- B. Baltimore's charter.
- a. Personality and experience of George Calvert.
 - b. Purpose of the grant in the Chesapeake Bay region. Limits.
 - c. Name.
 - d. Proprietor's position.
 - 1. Origin of idea of "imperium in imperio".
 - 2. Obligations.
 - 3. Rights and privileges.
 - 4. Checks and limitations.
- C. Attitude of Virginia. Kent Island controversy.
- D. Development of government.
- a. Organization of executive.
 - b. Organization of legislature. An expansion of the executive, 1638 (personal writs and election writs), 1639, 1650.
- E. Religious toleration.
- a. Catholic period.
 - b. Protestant immigration.
 - c. Toleration.

1. Baltimore's views.
2. Act of 1649.

F. Expansion of colony.

G. Experience under English Commonwealth.

H. Economic Character.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION III

A. Make a digest of the text assignment *following the syllabus outline* as far as as the amount of information permits.

B. *Questions on textbook and collateral reading:*

1. Compare the motives of English statesmen in encouraging colonization with those of other European nations.

2. What was the relation of England's conflict with Spain to her colonial expansion?

3. Was there any similarity between the governmental scheme of Raleigh's colony and that of New France?

4. Do you think that the arrangement of peace on sea and land between England and Spain in 1604 explains in any degree the availability of capital for colonizing enterprises shortly afterward?

5. How do you account for the adoption by the companies of the "Common work" system? What can you say of its success?

6. What is meant by Professor Osgood's comment on the Charter of 1609?

7. Sir Edwin Sandys "we may justly call the first American statesman, though he never lived in America", says Professor McLaughlin in his *Steps in the Development of American Democracy* (N. Y., 1920), p. 16. Can you defend this judgment?

8. What similarities and what differences do you find between proprietary Virginia and New France?

9. Why did Maryland colonists escape the sufferings with which their Virginia neighbors had been afflicted?

10. Do you find any suggestion of our modern state governor's powers in those assigned to the Maryland proprietors and their representatives?

11. Why did not the Maryland manor system succeed?

C. *Questions on source reading:*

1. How did the Cabots obtain men for their second voyage? (I, 25). Is there any evidence here of the prevalence of the myth of the seven cities? (I, 24 and 25). What did contemporaries think that the Cabots had discovered? What were the economic attractions of the new region?

2. How were slaves obtained and marketed by the English? (I, 29).

3. What evidence do we have that "privateers" like Drake felt themselves no considerable offenders (a) against the conventions of international practice, or (b) against the laws of God? (I, 30, 31).

4. What Englishmen had the rights to the title "master" or "mister"? (I, 44).

5. How were sumptuary laws expected to build up English sea power? (I, 44).

6. What arguments for colonization were presented to the English by Peckham and Hakluyt? (I, 45, 46).

7. Briefly summarize the claim of England to land occupied by the Dutch? (I, 48).

8. After reading the letter on the subject of supplies (printed in I, 50) and the record of the company's meeting on April 12, 1623, (I, 67), what would be your comment on a statement such as the following: "The officers of the Virginia Company were intent only on immediate profit, taking no thought for the permanent prosperity of the colony or the colonists"?

9. Judging from the evidence in Hakluyt's *Discourse* (I, No. 46, p. 160) and

the proclamation of King Charles I (I, 53), what was the progress of the "over-population of England" theory from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century?

10. What was the effect of the Jamestown site on the colonists' health? (I, 61). What other reasons were there for the suffering in the early years, as developed in the accounts of Wingfield and Gates? (I, 63, 64).

11. Did the Virginians devise their liberal scheme of government in 1618? What do you think of the Burgesses' moral and economic policies as judged from their early laws? (I, 65).

12. Nathaniel Butler's report of Virginia in 1622 (I, 66) would generally be considered under our Part III, F. a, 4. He saw the colony directly after the massacre. Do you find any evidence as to the Virginia Company's advertising? Economic activity of the colonists? Danger from Indians due to the type of settlement?

13. When Virginia was taken over by Parliament's commission during the Commonwealth period, were any guarantees given which showed that the colonists of that "country" prized self-government and the rights of Englishmen? (I, 69).

14. Give some examples of Lord Baltimore's prudence in directing his colony. (I, 72).

15. How did the Maryland colonists get their land from the Indians? (I, 73).

16. According to the author of *Leah and Rachel*, under what circumstances did the Puritans come to Maryland and how did they behave when settled there? (I, 75).

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 5.

SECTION IV

THE NEW ENGLAND REPUBLICS

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 59-71, 80, 92-94, 134-135, 140-142, 148-151, 153, 155-157. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XXVII, p. 665 and articles on Mass., Conn., R. I., N. H. and Me. (reading the accounts for the 17th century); Bolton and Marshall, pp. 135-159; Becker, pp. 80-117; Thwaites, pp. 112-116, 178-194.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, Nos. 94-97, 100, 101, 103, 106-108, 111, 112, 115, 116, 118, 120, 129, 130, 133, 137, 141-143, 144; Vol. II, 78, 79.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 6.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. I, chaps. x-xv; Vol. II, pp. 65-80; L. G. Tyler, *England in America*, chaps. ix-xvii; H. L. Osgood, *American Colonies in the 17th Century* (N. Y., 1904), Vol. I, pp. 141-223, 424-526; J. H. Twitchell, *John Winthrop* (N. Y., 1892), chaps. i-iv, vi, viii-x; G. L. Walker, *Thomas Hooker* (N. Y., 1891), chaps. i-iv, vi-vii; O. S. Straus, *Roger Williams* (N. Y., 1894), chaps. i-v; C. M. Andrews, *The Fathers of New England* (New Haven, 1919).

I. The religious situation in England.

- A. The English reformation.
 - a. Old idea of Anglican independence.
 - b. Henry VIII.
 - 1. "Erastianism"
 - 2. Catholic theology.
 - c. "Edwardine movement" toward true Protestantism (Edward VI).
 - d. Temporary reaction under Mary.
 - 1. Protestant clergymen in exile on the Continent absorb Calvinism.
 - e. Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy.
 - 1. Act of Supremacy, 1559.
 - 2. Act of Uniformity, 1559.
 - 3. Court of High Commission, 1583.
- B. Critics.
 - a. Catholics.
 - b. Puritans.
 - 1. On ceremonial "prelacy".
 - 2. On bishops.
 - (a) Reject apostolic succession of bishops; "prelacy".
 - (b) Would substitute presbyterianism in government and the Bible exclusively in theology.
 - c. Non-Conformists and Separatists.
 - 1. Browne and congregational independence.
 - 2. Baptists.
 - 3. Quakers (later).

II. The Pilgrims.

- A. Social and economic status.

- B. Experience in England.
- C. Experience in Holland.
- D. Patent from Virginia Company.
- E. Basis of civil government.
- F. Development of New Plymouth.
 - a. Economic arrangement under proprietors.
 - b. Becomes corporate colony.
 - c. Indian relations.
 - d. Religious development.
- G. Treatment of neighbors.
 - a. Indians.
 - b. Englishmen.
 - c. Foreigners.

III. The Massachusetts Bay Colony. A typical Puritan republic.

- A. Motives in beginning the enterprise.
- B. Legal basis. Powers.
 - a. Charter. Powers. Provisions of government.
 - b. Patent from Council for New England, a land company succeeding the Plymouth Company (1606) in 1620. ,
- C. Its colonial activities while in England.
- D. Transfer of company to New England.
 - a. Causes.
 - b. Significance.
- E. Settlement of Boston and outlying towns. Hardships and discipline. Title. Indian policy.
- F. Organization of Massachusetts as a corporate colony.
 - a. Executive. Elected by freemen.
 - b. Legislature. (No mention of king until 1660.)
 - 1. Form.
 - (a) General court of freemen and assistants. Quarter courts of assistants.
 - (b) Watertown protest of 1632 leads to representative system.
 - (c) Case of Keaynes vs. Sherman leads to bicameral system.
 - 2. Body of Liberties, 1641.
 - c. Judiciary
 - 1. At first the general court.
 - 2. High court. Governor and magistrates (assistants).
 - (a) An expansion of legislature. Confusion of legislative and judicial business.
 - (b) Regular court of assistants established 1639.
 - 3. Lower courts.
 - (a) Magistrate (assistants) assigned to courts in certain towns.
 - (b) Committees of three in towns where no magistrate.
 - (c) Counties created largely as judicial units.
 - 4. Influence of clergy (developed later in this section).
- G. Local government. The town.
 - a. Creation of towns.
 - 1. Normal procedure: (1) Petition by church group, (2) "Plantation" granted and laid out, (3) Town rights.
 - 2. Towns established by General Court for special reasons.
 - 3. Multiplication by off-shoot and division.
 - b. Bonds of union.
 - 1. Church fellowship (see later).
 - 2. Land system.

- (a) Conception of land as public property granted for use. No landed aristocracy. Group settlement.
 - (b) English antecedents of the town in its agrarian relationships. The Manor without the lord.
 - (c) Plan
 - (1) Superintendence by town meeting and select men.
 - (2) Size. Perambulation.
 - (3) The "Green" or "Common".
 - (4) House lots. Size. Special lots for minister, artisans, etc. Segregation of poor.
 - (5) Allotment of arable land.
 - (6) Undivided land. Common meadow and pasture. Herdsman, poundmaster and fence viewers.
 - c. Political character.
 - 1. English antecedents of the town as a political division. Parish.
 - 2. Jurisdiction and civil officials.
 - d. Later developments.
 - 1. Trading to make contiguous holdings.
 - 2. Later distinction between proprietor and simple freeman.
 - 3. Modification of the system. Land speculators.
- H. Financial system.
- a. Income.
 - 1. Assets.
 - 2. Direct Taxes. Poll Taxes. Income Tax (not known in Plymouth and R. I.)
 - 3. Indirect taxes. On imports, exports, Indian trade, excise.
 - b. Expenditures.
 - 1. For defence.
 - 2. Evolution of salaries.
 - 3. Other expenditures.
- I. Defense.
- a. Militant tradition of Puritans.
 - b. Possible enemies. Indians (Peace in R. I.). Foreigners.
 - c. Militia system.
 - 1. Universal obligation for men.
 - 2. Equipment.
 - 3. Training.
 - 4. Selection of Officers. Discipline.
 - 5. Administration.
 - d. Alarm system.
 - e. Forts, etc.
 - f. Watch and ward.
- J. The Church.
- a. Calvinism.
 - 1. Doctrine of salvation or election.
 - 2. The Visible Church. Membership. Covenant. Purpose.
 - (a) Conduct as evidence.
 - (b) The rule for conduct.
 - (c) The office of the clergy. Their character. Literary output.
 - 3. The state. Subordinate purpose and position. Relation of laws to the Bible. ("It was the duty of the church to create a perfect Christian society, of the state to furnish the necessary external condition.")
 - 4. Qualification for suffrage.
 - 5. Support by taxation.
 - b. Ecclesiastical government.
 - 1. General.
 - (a) Circumstances demand practical independence from England.
 - (b) Conference of clergy, etc. Synods.

2. Congregation. Covenant. Pastor. Teacher. Ruling Elder.
- c. Education.
 1. Harvard College, 1636. Purpose.
 2. Common schools, 1646-1647. Purpose.
 3. Character of literature.
- d. New England and democracy.

John Winthrop on the "unwarrantableness and unsafeness of referring matters on judicature to the body of the people, *quia* the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser".

John Cotton on democracy, "the meanest and worst of all forms of government".

 1. About four-fifths of adult males not enfranchised, 1674.
 2. Practical existence of aristocracy in New England.
 3. Elements making toward democracy; covenant (contract), local government, theoretical equality of elect.
- e. The New England theocracy and religious liberty.
 1. Calvin's view of heresy.
 2. Laws on "First Table" (four of the Commandments).
 3. Treatment of dissenters, Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, Robert Child. Anabaptists, Quakers. Summary of trials and travels of each.
 4. Treatment of witches.
- f. Factors moderating the rigor of the New England theocracy in the eighteenth century.
- K. Economic conditions.
 - a. Agriculture; small farms; labor; methods.
 - b. Commerce. Currency.
 - c. Fishing.
 - d. Fur trade.
 - e. Lumbering and ship-building.
 - f. Manufactures.
- L. Population.
 - a. Racial stock.
 - b. Periods of immigration.

IV. Expasion of New England.

- A. Connecticut.
 - a. The River Towns.
 1. Foundation. Personalities. Motives.
 2. "Fundamental Orders", 1639.
 - (a) First popular written constitution in the world.
 - (b) Purposes (preamble).
 - (c) Governmental scheme.
 - (d) Suffrage Franchise.
 3. Growth.
 - b. Saybrook.
 1. Prospective importance among English Puritans.
 2. Foundation. Legal basis.
 3. Merger with River Towns.
 - c. New Haven.
 1. Circumstances of foundation. Legal basis.
 2. Doctrinaire Puritanism.
 3. Growth.
 - d. Union.
 1. Charter of 1662. Circumstances of grant. Republican features.
- B. Rhode Island.
 - a. Personality and purpose of Roger Williams.

- b. Providence. Legal basis. Scheme of government.
- c. Other settlements. Portsmouth, Newport, Warwick.
- d. Summary of character of settlers.
- e. Relations with neighboring colonies.
- f. Government.
 - 1. A synthesized colony. Charter of 1643.
 - 2. Charter of 1663. Republican features.
- g. Religious freedom.
- C. New Hampshire and Maine.
 - a. Gorges' colonial enterprises, 1639, etc. Attitude toward Puritanism. Massachusetts buys Maine, 1677.
 - b. John Mason and proprietary grant. Settlers. New Hampshire annexed by Massachusetts. Becomes royal colony 1679.

V. Intercolonial Co-operation.

- A. Pequot War.
- B. New England Confederation.
 - a. Purposes.
 - b. Membership.
 - c. Form of government.
 - d. Success and failures.
 - 1. King Philip's War.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION IV

Questions on the textbook and collateral reading:

1. Why may we use the expression "The Puritan Republics?"
2. Define the terms "Anglican", "Puritan", "Separatist", "Pilgrim", "Presbyterian".
3. What was the experience of the Scrooby and Austerfield congregations with regard to the state church?
4. Why did the Pilgrims go to Holland? (Douglas Campbell has written a two-volume book called *The Puritan in England, Holland and America* (N. Y., 1893), designed to prove that the Pilgrims brought to America many Dutch ideas, institutions and devices, such as the written ballot, written constitutions, federal governments, recorded deeds and mortgages, public support of education, the township system, etc. Few scholars have followed him in these sweeping conclusions). Why did they leave Holland?
5. Why did the Pilgrims draw up a Compact and what was its character?
6. What kind of a colony was New Plymouth at first? How did it change?
7. What were the differences in origin and character of the Virginia and Massachusetts legislatures as they were in 1640?
8. From your reading, *e.g.*, in Osgood, draw an imaginary plan of a New England town.
9. What advantages do you see in the town method of territorial expansion?
10. Write on the degree of liberty and democracy noticeable in Massachusetts about 1650.
11. Can you see how conscientious people could be intolerant?
12. Can you explain why the New Englanders and the French differed in their treatment of the Indians?
13. Why were public schools general in Massachusetts?
14. How did Roger Williams trouble Massachusetts? Under the circumstances can you say anything in defense of his banishment?
15. What was the difference in spirit between the River Towns of Connecticut and New Haven?

16. What rival land claims did Hooker's settlers find in the Connecticut Valley?

17. What were the "republican features" of Connecticut's charter of 1662 and Rhode Island's of 1663?

18. What could you say of the population of Rhode Island in the 17th century?

19. After careful reflection, write a character sketch of Roger Williams.

20. Summarize Sir Ferdinando Gorges' relation to America. What was the controversy between him and Massachusetts?

21. What were the purposes in forming the New England Confederation? What were its successes? How was it unlike our present United States?

Questions on source reading:

1. By what reasoning in his *Institutes* (xxii-xxxii) did Calvin establish the authority of civil rulers? (I, 192).

2. Why, according to William Bradford's *History* (I, 97), did the Pilgrims leave Holland?

3. What can you say of the sufferings and character of the Pilgrims as set forth by Bradford (I, 100)? How does he justify civil marriage? How, as governor, did he handle the problem of Christmas day? What did he think of communion?

4. How, according to Governor Edward Winslow (I, 101), did the Pilgrims get their living?

5. Compare the points of view in life of William Bradford and Thomas Morton (I, 103).

6. What was the Cambridge agreement? (I, 106).

7. How was blasphemy treated in Massachusetts (I, 107)? How did Governor Winthrop account for the high cost of living in Boston in 1633? On the basis of his entries for February 17, 1633, April 1 and May 14, 1634, and May 22, 1639, trace the evolution of the Massachusetts legislature during the first decade after the Cambridge Agreement? What kinds of matters were considered by the general courts? Apparently how did the colony bear itself toward England? How were the elections of the governor, etc., conducted (see May 17, 1637)? Under what circumstances was the first code, the *Body of Liberties* (1641) drawn up?

8. Briefly summarize the concerns of a New England town-meeting (II, 78). According to John Adams' *Diary* (II, 79) what were some of those pertaining to the office of selectman?

9. Judged by the report of Anne Hutchinson's examination (I, 108) what were the complaints against her? How did Governor Winthrop bring insubordination to the magistrates within the prohibitions of the ten commandments? What kind of authority was cited by Mrs. Hutchinson and her examiners? Note: The phrase "covenant of works" generally implies salvation won by good behavior especially in certain specified religious practices; "Covenant of grace" refers to the salvation by God's mercy without regard to behavior.

10. After reading the Child petition of 1646 (I, 111), state on the part of whom, and why, there were "secret discontents" and "murmurings" in Massachusetts during the 17th century.

11. Nathaniel Ward's *Simple Cobbler of Agawam* was written in a metaphorical style somewhat confusing, but expresses the Puritan feeling about religious toleration. After carefully reading the extract (I, 112) summarize the argument in a few sentences.

12. What was New England's opinion of itself as exhibited in Peter Bulkeley's *Gospel Covenant?* (I, 130).

13. How did the curriculum of Harvard College (I, 137) carry out the purpose of its founders? What qualified a student for a bachelor's degree?

14. What do you think of the punitive measures of the Massachusetts theocracy, judged by Edward Burroughs' account in 1660 and the court record at Cambridge, April 17, 1666? (I, 141-143).

15. What was the preparation of a New England clergyman as illustrated in Norton's *Life and Death of Mr. John Cotton?* (I, 96).

16. According to Winthrop's *Journal* (I, 118), why did Thomas Hooker and his congregation remove to Connecticut in 1636?

17. What was the purpose of the "Fundamental Orders" of Connecticut (I, 120)? Trace in outline the process of electing a governor. Compare Connecticut and Massachusetts about 1650 with respect to democracy? Note: "In 1656 the law of Connecticut required the applicant for the franchise to be of 'a peaceable and honest conversation' and this was very apt to mean a church-member." L. G. Tyler, *England in America*, p. 259.

18. Note that the Connecticut laws (I, 144) were similar to those of Massachusetts. How do you account for the laws on parental obedience? Did the law secure any rights of children? How do you account for the laws on heresy? and on the Sabbath? Do we have laws against lying similar to those here set forth? What economic legislation do you find?

19. On what grounds, in general, did John Davenport (I, 94) defend government by church-members?

20. Apparently what were Roger Williams' personal relations with Winthrop, Bradford, Winslow, etc. (I, 115)? Does this throw any light upon his character? Can you set side by side terse statements of Nathaniel Ward and Roger Williams showing the difference of opinion on toleration found in Massachusetts and Rhode Island?

21. Suppose that you were writing a general history of the United States and had but half a printed page to Rhode Island in the latter part of the 17th century. Using Governor Sandford's report (I, 116) as a basis, what would you write?

22. What kinds of matters were controlled by the New England Confederation? (I, 129).

23. Does there seem to you any reason for King Philip's War more fundamental than those given by Edward Randolph? (I, 133).

MAPS

Map Study No. 6

SECTION V

THE PLANTING OF THE LATER ENGLISH COLONIES

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 81-88, 106-110, 135-140, 155-157 and *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th Ed.) pp. 665-668, and parts of articles on N. C., S. C., Ga., N. Y., N. J., Pa., and Del.; Bolton and Marshall, pp. 196-231, 315; Becker, pp. 126-134; Thwaites, pp. 87-111, 203-232, 258-263.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, Nos. 85, 89; Vol. II, Nos. 25-28, 34-36, 39-41, 44, 83, 97, 99.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Studies Nos. 7 and 8.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. I, chap. xix; Vol. II, chaps. ii, iv, xii-xiii, and pp. 63-65, 80-91, 363-365; C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government* (N. Y., 1904), chaps. v-xv; E. B. Greene, *Provincial America* (N. Y., 1905), chaps. xv; J. S. Bassett, *Constitutional Beginnings in North Carolina* (*John Hopkins Studies*, Vol. XII); W. A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina" (*American Historical Association Report*, 1900), pp. 245-254; S. G. Fisher, *The Quaker Colonies* (New Haven, 1919).

I. The Plantation Provinces.

A. The Planting of the Southern Colonies.

a. Carolina.

1. The grant and charters.

2. The "Fundamental Constitutions", origin, character, fate.

3. Settlement.

(a) The Northern Settlements.

(1) Chowan, or Albemarle, settlement, 1660.

i. Character of settlers.

ii. Extent.

iii. Name North Carolina, 1690, 1714.

(2) The Cape Fear settlement, 1723.

(b) The Charles Town settlement, 1672.

(1) Character of settlers. English, West Indian colonists, Huguenots.

(2) Prosperity. Rice. Indigo (after 1744).

4. Proprietary misrule. Change in personnel of proprietors.

(a) Failure in defense.

(b) Other failures.

(c) Action of inhabitants.

(d) Surrender of proprietary right to government in S. C., 1719.

(e) Sale to crown of proprietors' right to land, 1729, 1743.

b. Georgia.

1. Reasons for founding: military; philanthropic; economic.

2. Settlement; elements of population.

3. Government. Trustees. Legislature.

4. Philanthropic laws. Result.

5. Relations with Spanish neighbors.

6. Georgia in 1752.

B. Civilization in the South, chiefly during the seventeenth century. Maryland to Georgia.

- a. Economic character.
 1. Physiographic factors making for plantation economy.
 2. Distribution of plantations. Crops. Manufactures.
 3. Labor force.
 4. Methods of tillage.
 5. Methods of marketing, transportation, commerce.
 6. Exceptions. North Carolina.
- b. Provincial Government. Note: Only the general features of provincial government are here considered. These features were not all peculiar to the south.
 1. Executive.
 - (a) Source of authority.
 - (b) General officers.
 - (1) Governor. Extent of power; executive, legislative and judicial functions.
 - (2) Council.
 - (3) Other general officers.
 2. Assembly.
 - (a) Part played in the legislature.
 - (b) Methods of election.
 - (c) Organization.
 - (d) Character of law. *Cf.* New England.
 3. Judiciary.
- e. Local government.
 1. County.
 - (a) English antecedents.
 - (b) Formation. Size. Officers (source of authority; duties).
 2. Parish.
 - (a) English antecedents.
 - (b) Secular jurisdiction. Officers (election; source of authority; duties).

Note: The term "hundred" was employed for a short time in Virginia to designate a settlement. In Maryland and Delaware it persisted as the name of the local unit corresponding somewhat to the township in the middle colonies.
- D. Defense.
 - a. Militia system.
 1. Lord Lieutenant. Military units.
 2. Equipment and training.
 3. Officers. Source of authority.
 4. Drafts.
 - b. Patrols.
 - c. Indian relations.
 - d. Relations with Spaniards (considered later).
- E. Finance.
 - a. Rates and taxes. Legislative levies.
 - b. Expenditures. Evolution of salaries from fees.
- F. The Church.
 - a. Idea of Anglican establishment.
 - b. Administration from England. S. P. G. F. P. Commissaries.
 - c. English antecedents of the parish (ecclesiastical functions).
 - d. Operation.
 1. The Establishment in Virginia (1607), Maryland (1702). Influence of English Revolution. Violence to Catholics.
 2. In North Carolina. Cary's Rebellion. Practical difficulties and unimportance.
 3. In South Carolina. Attempt at Test Oath.
 4. In Georgia.

- G. Education.
- H. Literature. Histories in the early eighteenth century.
- I. Sectional and social distinctions.
 - a. Sectionalism. Bacon's Rebellion. Carolinas.
 - b. Classes.
 - 1. Monarchical atmosphere. Pomp of government.
 - 2. Idea of political aristocracy.
 - (a) Manors in Maryland.
 - (b) Fundamental Orders in Carolina.
 - 3. Unimportance of middle class. Exceptions in North Carolina.
 - 4. Number of indentured servants in Virginia and Maryland. Cf. Carolinas and Georgia.
 - 5. Negro slavery.

II. The Middle Colonies.

Note: The society and the institutions of each of the middle colonies was so peculiarly characteristic that generalization is far more difficult than was the case with New England or even the Plantation Colonies.

- A. Proprietary New York (Review Section II, part III).
 - a. English reasons for conquest.
 - b. Proprietary grant. Geographical extent. Wide power.
 - c. Government.
 - 1. Executive. Governor and Council. (Personality and accomplishment of the successive proprietary governors).
 - (a) Strength.
 - (b) Duties.
 - 2. Judiciary.
 - 3. Movement for legislature.
 - d. Local government.
 - 1. Dutch survivals.
 - 2. Counties. Townships and Borough towns.
 - 3. Municipal government of New York and Albany, the first Anglo-American cities, 1686.
 - e. Determination of boundaries.
 - f. Population. Varied character. Sectionalism.
 - g. Great grants by proprietor.
 - h. Indian relations.
 - i. Defense.
 - j. Economic character.
- B. Proprietary New Jersey (to 1685).
 - a. Early settlements.
 - 1. Dutch.
 - 2. English.
 - 3. Others.
 - b. Proprietary grant. Powers of grantees.
 - c. Transfers of ownership.
 - d. "Quintipartite deed", 1676. East and West Jersey. Sectionalism.
 - e. Influence of Quakers. Ideas expressed in the "Concessions and Agreements of East Jersey", 1677.
 - f. Government.
- C. Pennsylvania (and Delaware).
 - a. Quakers.
 - 1. Origins.
 - 2. Peculiar tenets.
 - 3. Customs and character.
 - 4. Plans and experience with respect to America before 1682.

- b. William Penn.
- c. The "holy experiment".
 - 1. Charter.
 - (a) Powers. Tenure.
 - (b) Territorial extent. Acquisition of "Lower Counties" (Delaware).
 - 2. Publicity methods.
 - 3. Population attracted.
 - 4. Settlements.
- d. Government. Frames of Government: 1682, 1683, 1696, 1701.
 - 1. Monarchical features.
 - 2. Republican features.
 - 3. Democratic features.
 - 4. Controversies in government.
- e. Local government.
 - 1. County and Borough.
 - 2. Philadelphia.
- f. Indian relations.
- g. Defense.
- h. The Lower Counties.
 - 1. Penn's trouble. Arrangement of 1701-1704.
- i. Economic character.

III. Review of Characteristic Features of Proprietary Provinces.

- A. Resemblance to kingdom.
- B. The proprietor as landlord.
 - a. Rights of sale, gift and mortgage.
 - b. Advertising methods.
 - c. Land system.
 - 1. Motives in disposing of land.
 - 2. Quit rents.
 - 3. Tenure of individual inhabitants' holdings.
 - 4. Towns laid out.
- C. The proprietor as ruler.
 - a. Powers. Executive. Legislative. Judicial.
 - b. Appointed officers.
 - c. Legislature.
 - 1. Dependence on executive.
 - 2. Composition.
 - 3. Growth of importance.
 - d. Constitutional guaranties made to inhabitants by proprietors.
 - e. Defense.
 - f. Finance.
- D. Exceptions. In New York. In Pennsylvania.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION V

Questions on the textbook and collateral reading:

1. What, if any, distinctive cultural and economic sections could be found about 1735 south of Virginia?
2. Why were the "Fundamental Constitutions" inappropriate to American conditions?
3. What were the various purposes in founding Georgia? Why did settlers come?
4. Write an essay of four or five hundred words describing the impressions of a citizen of Salem, Mass., who came to live in Charles Town, S. C., about 1700.

5. How do you account for the despotic government of New York?
6. Why was there sectionalism in New Jersey?
7. What do you think of the Quakers?
8. In *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Francis Parkman observes: "Pennsylvania was feudal in form but not in spirit; Virginia in spirit but not in form; New England in neither, and New York largely in both." Can you explain and illustrate his meaning?
9. Why did Delaware become one of the thirteen separate colonies?
10. What did Sir Edward Coke mean by the statement that the proprietors' power was king-like but not sovereign?
11. What provision was there during the seventeenth century for the defense of Virginia? What was the basis of representation? How did the slaves and the servants compare in number about 1670? What were Governor Berkeley's sentiments as to popular education? How do you account for the difference between Virginia and Massachusetts in this respect?
12. Compare the account of Bacon's Rebellion in I, 71 with that in the text book.
13. Compare the general features of the government of Maryland about 1660 with those of your own state today. How do those of Massachusetts at the same time compare with those of each?

Questions on source reading:

1. What did Edward Randolph (II, 34) find to be the feeling of Carolinians about 1700 toward the proprietors, and why? What did he judge to be the colony's economic prospects?
2. How did the trustees of Georgia differ from ordinary proprietors? What economic purposes were to be served? Did religion as well as philanthropy enter into the design? (II, 39, 40).
3. What was Edmund Burke's notion (II, 44) of the way in which the English government had taken over Georgia? What did he think in 1757 of its commercial future?
4. According to Eliza Lucas (II, 35) what were the commercial products of South Carolina forty-two years after Randolph's visit? (See also II, 83—entries of Nov. 11, 1741, and Jan., 1741-2.)
5. How did the trustees and the residents of Georgia differ on the slavery question? (II, 41). Note: The Salzburgers and Scotch dissented from the part of the petition dealing with slavery. Slaves came to be allowed in 1749 under a system of control by license.
6. What evils were represented in *Virginia's Cure* to come from the "scattered planting" in Virginia? (I, 85).
7. Under what circumstances was the college of William and Mary begun? (I, 89).
8. Judging from his own account (II, 99), how do you account for John Wesley's unpopularity in Georgia?
9. Was the south wholly without schools? (II, 35, 36).
10. What reasons were given by the Board of Trade (II, 26) for the need of consolidating the "two Jerseys" into one royal province?
11. After reading the report of Lewis Morris (II, 97), what can you say of the ethnic origin and religious life of New Jersey people about 1700?
12. On the basis of Secretary James Logan's account (II, 27) set forth why Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties (Delaware) had some separate institutions.
13. What useful function was performed by markets and fairs in the colonies, e.g., in Pennsylvania? (II, 28).
14. What did the Quakers think of lawyers and doctors? What was cheaper in Pennsylvania than in London, according to Gabriel Thomas (II, 25), and why? (See also II, 28.)

MAP STUDY

Map Studies Nos. 7 and 8.

SECTION VI

THE BRITISH COLONIAL SYSTEM AND THE ROYAL PROVINCES

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 76-78, 80-81, 89-97, 99-108, 141, 143-145; Bolton and Marshall, pp. 152-154, 179-183, 343-358; Becker, pp. 134-152; Thwaites, pp. 51-55, 58-63, 104-106, 172-177; D. S. Muzzey, *United States of America* (N. Y., 1922), Vol. I, pp. 23-38.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, Nos. 54, 122, 126, 135, 136, 156, 167; Vol. II, Nos. 31, 33, 46, 48, 49, 52-61, 63, 65-70, 74, 79, 82, 85.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. I, chap. xviii; Vol. II, chaps. i, vi-x; C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government*, chaps. i-iii, xvi-xvii; E. B. Greene, *Provincial America*, chaps. i-vi, xi-xiii; G. F. Howard, *The Preliminaries of the Revolution* (N. Y., 1905), chap. iii; C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period* (N. Y., 1912), chaps. v-vii; G. L. Beer, *Origins of British Colonial System* (N. Y., 1908).

I. The British Colonial System.

A. Mercantilism. Nationalism in economics. Control.

The ideal: a large population growing rich at the expense of other nations. Connection with war.

a. Need of specie. Mercantilists called "Bullionists".

1. To outfit troops. To purchase outside supplies, if necessary. To embarrass other nations by cornering supply of precious metals.
2. Effect of Spanish mines.

b. Balance of Trade.

("If the Native Commodities exported doe waigh down and exceed in value the foraine Commodities imported; it is a rule that nerver faile's, that then the Kingdom growe's rich, and propers in estate and stocke: because the overplus thereof must needs come in, in treasure", Misesdon, *The Circle of Commerce*, London, 1623.)

c. Importation of raw materials only. Tariff policy.

d. Development of home production.

1. Encouragement of agriculture in England. Food. Best soldiers from the farming population.
2. Encouragement of manufacturing.
 - (a) Increase. Policy toward new industries; inventions; bounties; immigration and emigration of workmen, etc.; sumptuary laws.
 - (b) Control. Nationalization of guilds; monopolies; staples.

e. National Trade.

1. Internal.

- (a) Attitude toward foreigners in home country trade.
- (b) Placing of new industries.

2. Oversea.

- (a) Importance of merchant marine. Early laws (Richard II, Henry VIII) confining trade to ships of citizens.

f. Colonization (in its economic phase).

1. Types of dependencies.

- (a) Greek.
- (b) Roman.
- (c) Mercantilist.

Note: The economic theory of European colonization was more like the Roman than like the Greek. The purpose was that the nation might become a *self-sufficient economic unit*. Colonies should supply deficiencies in necessary raw material while consuming surplus manufactures from the homeland. The colony existed for the benefit of the state, not for the colonists. Colonies which served the state were useful; those which did not were useless and had to be economically reformed. A colony which merely duplicated the home country, would, from this point of view, be disappointing.

2. Hopes.

- (a) Mines (disappointment for the English).
- (b) Plantations.
 - (1) Commodities desired.
 - (2) Advantages in purchasing from colonists instead of foreigners.
- (c) Markets.
- (d) Colonies would not only require but would develop sea-power of the nation.

3. Inevitable effect on colonies of a constantly unfavorable balance of trade.

- (a) Currency. Depletion. Paper money.

B. Attempts at control of trade and industry.

a. Early stipulations with respect to metals discovered.

b. Policy of early Stuarts.

- 1. Royal power in trade control.
- 2. Government's part in scheme of 1606 (with respect to Virginia and Plymouth Companies).
- 3. Attitude toward chartered rights.
 - (a) Seizure of Virginia.
 - (b) Commission of 1634 with special view to New England.
- 4. Administration of tobacco trade. Exemptions (in charter of 1612). Privileges. Monopolies. Stints. Staple. Drawbacks.
- 5. Exclusion of foreigners from trade in certain colonies.

c. Policy of government in Civil War period.

- 1. Parliamentary control. Different spirit.
- 2. Council.
- 3. Commissions. Friendly to New England; hostile to Virginia. Complications in Maryland.

d. Policy of Cromwell.

- 1. Ordinance of 1651. Non-English ships excluded from bringing colonial goods to England.
 - (a) Provisions.
 - (b) Purposes.
- 2. War. Holland; Spain.
- 3. Influence of merchants.

e. Policy after 1660.

- 1. The Crown's attitude toward work of Parliament.
- 2. The Great Acts of Trade.
 - (a) 1660. Innovations. "Enumerated Articles" to be sent only to England. Subsequent additions: cocoa, 1672; naval stores, 1704; rice, 1706; copper, 1722; beaver skins, 1772.
 - (b) 1663. Imports to colonies only by way of England.
 - (c) 1673. Bonds by shipmasters for proper observation of the acts.

- (d) 1733. Molasses Act.
- (e) Evasions.
- 3. Restrictions on colonial manufacturing.
 - (a) Conceptions of the colony as a plantation and market.
 - (b) Extractive industry encouraged; agriculture (especially large-scale staples), fishing, forestry, furs, etc.
 - (c) Incentives to colonial manufacturing.
 - (d) Acts. Respect for mercantilism; not enmity to colonists.
 - (1) 1699, Woolen Goods Act.
 - (2) 1732, Hat Act.
 - (3) 1750, Iron Act.
 - (4) Extent of enforcement.
- 4. Colonial and commercial expansion.
 - (a) New colonies; Carolinas; New York; Jersey; Pennsylvania (and Delaware); etc.
 - (b) New companies; Hudson's Bay Co., 1670; Royal African Co., 1672.
- 5. Organs of imperial control of trade.
 - (a) Special Committees of the Privy Council, 1660-1675.
 - (b) The Lords of Trade, 1675. Personnel.
 - (c) Board of trade (considered later).
- C. Advantage to the colonists.
 - a. Defense.
 - 1. Imperial protection, feudal custom relating to protection and obedience.
 - (a) Against foreigners and pirates, naval and military.
 - (b) Location of troops (regiment in Leeward Islands, regiment in Newfoundland, and 8 companies in Jamaica, 5 companies in all the continental colonies).
 - 2. Local defense against Indians left to colonists.
 - b. Commercial and industrial advantages; preferential tariffs; monopolies; drawbacks; bounties; shipbuilding.
- C. Attempts at colonial reorganization under the later Stuarts.
 - a. Vacation of charters and, b. Consolidation. Parallels in England.
 - a. Vacation of charters.
 - 1. Commission of 1664.
 - (a) Charges against Massachusetts; Mason and Gorges; Massachusetts' purchase of Maine.
 - (b) Report and recommendation *in re* New England.
 - 2. Edward Randolph and his American experiences. The "prerogative party".
 - 3. New Hampshire made independent of Massachusetts, 1679. (Subsequent history: 1686, 1696, 1741.)
 - 4. Judicial proceedings against Massachusetts. Company dissolved 1684.
 - 5. Proceedings against charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island.
 - b. Consolidation.
 - 1. The general plan.
 - 2. The Dominion of New England.
 - (a) Provisional Government under Joseph Dudley.
 - (b) Colonies included. Districts. Officers.
 - (c) Character of government. Constitutional novelties in colony and town. Andros' personal unpopularity.
- D. The English Revolution of 1688-89 and its results in America.
 - a. England.
 - 1. Vindication of constitutional principle of limited monarchy.
 - 2. Effect on prestige of merchant class.
 - 3. Effect on foreign policy.

4. Effect on prestige of Parliament.
 5. Effect on the religious toleration.
 6. Restoration of charters.
 - b. In New England.
 1. Andros régime overthrown and provisional government of Council for the Safety and Conservation of the Peace.
 2. The Charters of 1691. Provisions regarding New Plymouth; legislature; franchise; religion. Compromise.
 3. Charters restored in Connecticut and Rhode Island.
 - c. In New York.
 1. Causes of popular discontent. Political. Religious. Social.
 2. Career and administration of Jacob Leisler.
 3. The new legislature of 1691.
 - d. In Maryland.
 1. Opposition to proprietary system.
 2. Anti-Catholic feeling. Coode's Rebellion. Church established.
 3. Proprietary government overthrown.
 - e. In Pennsylvania. Temporary embarrassment of Wm. Penn. Province joined with N. Y. and Jerseys.
 - f. The effect of the Toleration Act of 1689.
 - g. General development of tendencies mentioned under a. (considered later).
- E. Survey of the provinces in the early eighteenth century.

II. Imperial policy after 1689.

- A. Tendency for colonies to be made royal.
- a. Pressure from England. Massachusetts, New Hampshire.
 - b. Arbitrary and inefficient government in proprietary provinces. Maryland (temporary), New Jersey, the Carolinas, Georgia.
 - c. Influence of Anglican church in colonies.
 - d. Royal disallowance of colonial laws.
 - e. Appeals to England from colonial court decisions.
- B. Organs of imperial administration.
- a. King. Tendency in England away from Crown's personal attention to boards, secretaries and machinery of civil service.
 - b. Privy Council, also declining.
 - c. Secretary of State for the southern department. (Colonies a small part of his interests.)
 - d. Treasury, *e.g.*, customs, audit of revenues, register of emigrants, post office, payment of military.
 - e. Admiralty, *e.g.*, pirates, privateering, fleets, enforcement of trade laws.
 - f. War office; conduct of armies after Mutiny Act, 1689.
 - g. Board of Trade and Plantations, 1696.
 "The Board of Trade was the only important body in the British system of government that had no executive powers of its own", C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period*, p. 136. Permanent staff; instructed governors; colonies but one of its interests.
 - h. The Bishop of London.
- C. Weaknesses of the "system".
- a. Diffusion and jealousy among the "organs".
 - b. Diffusion within departments; *e.g.*, fifteen offices connected with the Admiralty with no two under the same roof.
 - c. Period of Whig place-men. Walpole. Era of "salutary neglect". Favoritism, pluralism, etc.
 - d. Ignorance of America. No regular communication.
 - e. No system of paying officials from home.
 - f. Character of governors sent.

III. The Provincial Constitutions.

A. Organization of government.

a. External control.

1. Executive.

(a) Governor (see governor's instructions), executive functions (appointments), military command.

(b) Council; associated with the governor, and usually appointed at his suggestion. Exception in Virginia.

2. Judiciary.

(a) Governor (pardons), and council, together the highest court in civil cases.

(b) Judges, appointed by governor and council.

b. Internal control.

1. Legislature.

(a) Governor's power in control of legislature.

(b) Assembly, (every colony had a representative assembly by the end of the seventeenth century).

(1) Names.

(2) Organization.

(3) Special power over money bills.

(4) Represented property holders. Various qualifications for suffrage franchise.

(5) Qualifications for office. Property; religion; residence. Georgia's qualifications.

(c) Council's share in legislation.

(d) Final check. Disallowance by proprietors and Crown.

c. Exceptions among the provinces. Massachusetts. Pennsylvania.

B. Conflict within colonies.

a. Antagonism between external and internal forces.

Governor represented the monarchical principle of prerogative and imperial control.

Assembly stood for the representative principle and local interests.

b. Influences favorable to assembly.

1. Effects of the English Revolution.

(a) Greater prestige of representative principle.

(b) Various Bills of Rights, Statements of Privileges, etc. from the assemblies. All disallowed.

(c) Other acts in imitation of Parliament.

(1) Massachusetts' Annual Election Act 1691; Pennsylvania same in 1701; Virginia.

(2) Judging elections by the assembly, etc.

2. Example of the chartered colonies, especially the corporate.

3. Growth of population.

c. Controversies between assembly and governor.

1. Specific or general appropriations?

2. Choice of speaker of assembly? Massachusetts.

3. Appointment of administrative officers? Treasurer.

4. Control of militia? Massachusetts in 1724. Specification of officers to receive money.

5. Appointment of colonial agents? New York, Virginia.

6. Salaries? The assembly's control over the governor and judges.

C. Development of parties.

a. Governors' friends and foes.

1. Character of the governors.

2. Development of aristocracy.

(a) Tradition of Europe.

(b) Land grants, especially in New York.

b. Influence of Anglican church.

- c. Influence of lawyers.
- d. Influence of merchants.
- e. Questions of proprietary control. Pennsylvania. Maryland, New Jersey.
- f. Sectionalism (considered later).

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION VI

General Questions (a number of these questions will require answers of more than ordinary length) :

1. Would you say that nations are yet following the policies of mercantilism in any degree?
2. As you recall our discussion of Spain in America, how far do you think she formed her policies upon this theory?
3. What part of the American possessions would European mercantilists regard as most valuable? What as least valuable?
4. Did the colonies help England to become "Mistress of the Seas"?
5. Do you think as a whole the colonists would have gained or lost could they have been like those of ancient Greece?
6. What was Sir Edmund Andros trying to do? Do you blame him?
7. What was the last colony to get a legislative assembly in the 17th century? How did it get it?
8. What effect on American history had the results of the English Revolution mentioned under I, D, a?
9. Give a systematic outline of the matters you believe important under I, E.
10. As far as America was concerned do you see any truth in the statement sometimes made by historians of the British Empire that "the eighteenth century began in 1689"?
11. If the conduct of colonial affairs as described in this section seems to you to be inefficient, can you give any reasons why it was not changed?
12. What problems would a typical royal governor have to face in the middle of the eighteenth century?
13. What might happen to a bill after it passed the assembly?
14. With which party do you think you would have identified yourself in a royal province in the early eighteenth century? Why? Who would have been your associates? What would your party have desired?

Questions on source reading:

1. Do you find any important differences between the sentiments of an imperialist like Sir William Keith (II, 49) and those of the colonists as described by Governor Thomas Pownall (II, 53)?
2. What did Virginia think of the navigation laws? (I, 70)?
3. Explain why English merchants influenced the course of Virginia policy against building towns. (II, 55).
4. Apparently what was Jeremiah Dummer's opinion (II, 48) as to the most prudent treatment for the British government to give the colonies? Why? What do you think of this?
5. Why, according to Governor Spotswood's account to Colonel Byrd (II, 82), did the British ministry about 1721 abandon their attempts to reform New England? See also II, 48.
6. Make a brief outline of the duties of the Council of Foreign Plantations about 1660. (I, 54).
7. What was the source of the authority of the Board of Trade (officially known as the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations) to consider colonial laws? (II, 46). Could they themselves disallow the laws?
8. Did they really exercise this power? (II, 67).
9. How was iron manufacturing taken up in colonial Virginia? (II, 82).

10. By what means was Connecticut brought into the Dominion of New England? What was her course in 1689? (I, 122).

11. How and why, according to Increase Mather, was the Massachusetts charter taken away? (I, 135).

12. Why did most Massachusetts people dislike Joseph Dudley? Are there any actions recorded by Thomas Danforth (I, 136) more befitting an independent nation than a colony?

13. Why in 1690 did New Hampshire desire to be joined to Massachusetts? (I, 126).

14. What was Jacob Leisler's authority? What were alleged to be his motives? What was his chief offense? (I, 157).

15. Is there anything in Dongan's report (I, 156) that shows a commercial condition at Albany since disappeared? Why? Do you notice any characteristics of modern New York in that of the seventeenth century?

16. After reading the commission to Lewis Morris as governor of New Jersey (II, 55), state in what colonial affairs the governor's authority was final. Judging by his instructions what "encroachments" by the assemblies had the Board of Trade been taught to fear? How seriously were the instructions to be taken? See Lord Dartmouth to Governor Tryon, (II, 60).

17. Making due allowance for the evident bias of the historian Robert Beverly (II, 33), characterize Nicholson and Andros as servants of the crown in Virginia.

18. How, as evidenced in Cosby's letter (II, 54), might a colonial official enjoy income without labor?

19. Does Governor Clinton's petition (II, 57) enable you to judge whether George Clarke's £1000 (II, 56) would have been well invested?

20. What was Governor Fletcher's contribution, judged by his successor's account, (II, 85) to the tradition of incompetence and chicanery which rightly or wrongly attached to the English civil service in America?

21. Is Governor Pownall's discussion of salaries (II, 59) logical? What is the strongest point in his argument? Does this help you to see why there was a revolution? Is there anything said here inconsistent with what he had said before (II, 53)?

22. How, according to the same authority (II, 66), did colonial legislatures avoid a governor's veto or disallowance of their laws in England?

23. Practically how much legal protection did a province have against a rapacious governor? (II, 52).

24. How did the governors and assemblies sometimes check each other or attempt to encroach upon the others' rights? (II, 63, 65).

25. After reading Franklin's report of his interview with Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary of State for the Colonies (II, 68), tell how agents were appointed. Can anything be said for his lordship's point of view?

26. Was there anything about juries in the Massachusetts Act of 1774 (II, 69) that gave alarm to the colonies in general?

27. What did (and does) the grand jury do? (II, 70). What offenses were contemplated by Governor Dinwiddie as against God?

28. In appointing judges Governor Hardy had agreed to what the New Jersey citizens thought necessary to preserve their liberties. Was the Board of Trade (II, 58) right in condemning him?

29. What, according to Sir William Keith (II, 49) was the proper organization of the courts? How could His Majesty's service in America be freed from the need of bargaining with the colonists?

30. What expedient was suggested by Thomas Pownall in his *Administration of the Colonies* (II, 74), to remedy the ills of the American courts? How would it have been received in the colonies?

31. In Pennsylvania (II, 61) how far did religious affiliations play a part in politics? Is there any trace here of a legislative caucus? Did the governor have any relations with the assembly at Philadelphia different from those with the assembly of the Lower Counties?

32. Do you find evidence in John Adams' *Diary* (II, 79) of connection between

political organizations and business in 1763? How could a candidate's interest be forwarded in town meeting?

33. Can you gather from Proud's narrative (II, 31) what kind of questions divided public opinion in Pennsylvania about 1750? How far could these parties go to circumvent each other?

SECTION VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROVINCES AND THE WAR AGAINST FRANCE

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 145-158, 112-120; Bolton and Marshall, pp. 309-342, 257-274, 359-365; Becker, pp. 152-155, 161-202; Thwaites, pp. 252-275, 264-284; A. B. Hart, *The Formation of the Union*, (N. Y., 1891), pp. 1-21; Muzzey, *United States*, pp. 38-42.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, Nos. 29, 32, 34, 36, 52, 72, 81, 84, 90, 93, 96, 100, 103, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 114, 115, 117-119, 122, 123, 136, 137.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 9.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. II, chaps. v, xi, xiv-xvii, xviii; E. B. Greene, *Provincial America*, chaps. vii-x, xiv, xvi-xviii; C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Period*, chap. iv; R. G. Thwaites, *France in America*, chaps. vi-ix.

I. Expansion of settlement.

A. General conditions.

a. Factors favoring.

1. Abundance of land.
2. New England town system.
3. Head rights, military grants.

b. Factors opposing.

1. Difficulties of travel.
2. Huge grants in New York.
3. Purchase of great estates in Virginia and Carolinas of land forfeited by non-payment of quit-rents.
4. Indians.

B. New stocks of population.

a. Non-English stock in the 17th century.

1. Dutch.

- (a) Number (about 10,000 in 1670).
- (b) Geographical distribution.
- (c) Characteristics (later public services of such men as the Schuylers, Stephen Van Renssalaer, etc.)

2. Huguenots.

- (a) Cause and circumstances of immigration.
- (b) Number and distribution.
- (c) Characteristics ("In proportion to their numbers the Huguenots have produced more . . . men of ability than other races in the United States", H. C. Lodge, *Historical and Political Essays*, pp. 139 *et seq.*). Leaders like Delancey, Jay, Bowdoin, etc.

3. Welsh and Swedes.

4. Spanish and Portuguese Jews in New York and Rhode Island.

b. Non-English stock in the 18th century.

1. Germans.

- (a) Conditions in the German states. Political disunity. Thirty Years' War, and other wars. Religious persecution.
 - (b) Sectarian diversity: Menno-Simon (d. 1559) and the Menonites; Caspar Schwenkfeld (d. 1561) and Schwenkfelders; Alexander Mack (1708) and German Baptist Brethren or "Dunkers"; Moravians (after John Huss) revived about 1700; A. H. Francke (d. 1727) and Lutheran Pietism; Salzburger Lutherans. (See encyclopaedia under these names). Similarity of these German Pietists to English Quakers and Methodists.
 - (c) First knowledge of American opportunity. Penn's advertisements, Queen Anne's *Golden Book*, etc.
 - (d) The migrations.
 - (1) Several companies of Pietists in 17th century go to Pa.
 - (2) Palatines.
 - i. Oppression by French armies, and by Catholic Elector (1690's).
 - ii. Migration to England.
 - iii. Settlement by British government. New York and N. C. Purposes.
 - iv. Migration of many from New York to Pennsylvania.
 - (3) The Virginia Germans. Germanna, 1714.
 - (4) Increased immigration after 1720 of Pietists.
 - i. Settlement in New England, Georgia and North Carolina.
 - ii. "Newlanders" and their methods.
 - iii. Expansion of settlement in Pennsylvania ("Germans in Pennsylvania have from the beginning and down to the present day formed at least one-third of the population", Oscar Kuhns, *German and Swiss Elements of Colonial Pennsylvania*.)
 - iv. Expansion from Pennsylvania. The great valley of the south.
 - v. Germans in Georgia.
 - (e) Number (nearly 8% of the population in 1775).
 - (f) Characteristics; religiosity, conservatism, thrift, artistic appreciation, attitude toward education. Some enterprising Americans like Herkimer, Muhlenburg, etc.
2. Scotch-Irish.
- (a) Causes of emigration from Ulster to America, especially after 1720.
 - (1) Religious persecution by Episcopal authorities. Loss of citizenship. Tithes.
 - (b) Unjust and unwise landlordism.
 - (3) Trade and industrial restrictions on Ireland by England.
 - (c) Migration.
 - (1) To New England, Maine, Londonderry (N. H.), Worcester and Coleraine (Mass.).
 - (2) To Pennsylvania (Secretary James Logan said in 1729: "It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived").
 - i. Location of settlement in Pennsylvania.
 - (3) Migration through Pennsylvania into "the Valley" (from the upper Potomac to Georgia).
 - (4) New York and New Jersey.
 - (c) Number (in 1775 about 385,000, or about one-eighth of the population).
 - (d) Characteristics: Fearlessness (shown on the frontier), independence, Puritanism (at first without much learning). Typical Scotch-Irishmen: Daniel Boone and John Stark.
3. Scotch.

(a) Early immigration.

Early settlements in North Carolina in (1729) and Georgia. Encouragement of the Scotch governor, Gabriel Johnston, and of the legislature.

(b) Causes for emigration of Highlanders to America

(1) Results of battle of Culloden, 1746.

i. Political power lost.

ii. Agrarian trouble: break up of clan holdings, introduction of sheep, increase of rents, etc.

(c) Settlements in north-eastern New York.

4. Irish. Michael O'Brien, in his *Hidden Phase of American History*, (N. Y., 1920), claims more Catholic Irish than Scotch-Irish.

C. General features of immigration.

In the 18th century probably the majority of immigrants came from outside England. At the time of the revolution about a quarter of the Americans were not of English stock.

a. Transportation facilities and methods. Deaths at sea.

b. Immigration policy of British government. Citizens and denizens.

II. New Social and Economic Factors in the Eighteenth Century.

A. Economic.

a. Growth and influence of towns.

b. Highways and commodities of colonial commerce.

c. Development of labor system.

White servants and negro slaves. Sources of supply. Types of slavery. Slave codes, slave trade (attitude of British government with respect to operations of the Royal African Company: e.g., "It is our Will and Pleasure that you do not give your assent to or pass any Law imposing duties upon Negroes imported into our Province of North Carolina."—Instructions to Governor Dobbs, *N. C. Colonial Records*, Vol. V, p. 1118).

B. Religious.

a. Attempts to extend Anglicanism in the North.

1. King's Chapel in Boston.

2. Act of 1693 in New York.

3. Attempts in Connecticut and New Jersey.

4. Apprehension of a colonial episcopate.

b. Weakening of church establishments.

1. Decline of Puritanism.

(a) Influence of Rhode Island.

(b) Growth of the commercial spirit.

(c) Anglicanism.

(d) Salem Witchcraft.

(e) The "Half-way Covenant".

(f) The "Saybrook Platform".

(g) The "Great Awakening" and its results.

2. Opposition to Anglicanism.

(a) Failure of measures against dissenters in Virginia.

(b) Prevalence of dissenters in middle colonies.

3. Growth of Presbyterians and Baptists.

4. Position of Catholics.

c. Missions and philanthropy.

1. Missions to Indians.

2. Quaker attitude toward slavery.

C. Educational.

a. Colleges.

1. Foundation of colleges.

- (a) Harvard, and William and Mary in the seventeenth century.
- (b) Yale, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Kings, Rhode Island, Queens, Dartmouth.
- 2. Character of college training and college life.
- 3. Education of colonials in England.
- b. Secondary schools.
 - 1. Anglican church and its schools.
 - 2. Quaker schools.
 - 3. Development of latin schools in New England.
 - 4. Influence of Presbyterian clergy.
- c. Popular education. Development in the north.
- D. Literary.
 - a. Persistence of theological writing.
 - The Mathers, Jonathan Edwards.
 - b. Secularization of literature.
 - 1. New forms.
 - 2. Influence of officials, *e.g.*, Hunter and Burnet.
 - 3. Historians: Beverly, Stith.
 - 4. Benjamin Franklin.
 - 5. John Woolman.
 - c. "Colonial" character of our literature.
 - d. Journalism.
 - 1. Beginnings.
 - 2. Functions of editors and essayists.
 - 3. Liberty of the press. The Zenger trial.
 - 4. Benjamin Franklin.
 - e. Libraries.
 - 1. S. P. G.
 - 2. Other influences. Benjamin Franklin.

III. The Struggle between France and Great Britain for North America. (The earlier phases.)

Note: It was to be expected that Frenchmen and Englishmen, traditional enemies in Europe, would look upon each other's prosperity in the New World with jealousy and indignation. The settlements in the early seventeenth century had not expanded sufficiently to cause much friction, though Massachusetts and New Plymouth men complained of "interlopers" in Maine. But beginning with 1689 each of the rivals urged on the Indians to almost continuous depredation upon the other. Four times—1690-1697, 1702-1713, 1744-1748, 1754-1763—because of conditions in Europe, these hostilities reached the status of formal warfare. With the exception of the last, however, these conflicts were largely American in character rather than European wars fought overseas in America by expeditionary forces. Before proceeding with this section it would be well to review Section II, part ii.

- A. Relations between the French and English in North America before 1689.
 - a. Conflicting territorial claims.
 - b. Diplomatic contest for Indian support.
 - c. Effect of conditions in Europe.
 - 1. Charles I's war with Louis XIII.
 - 2. Subserviency of later Stuarts to Louis XIV.
- B. First Intercolonial War (often called "King William's War"), 1690-1697.
 - a. Effect of Revolution of 1688 on Anglo-French relations. Aggressions of Louis XIV.
 - b. Fighting in the West Indies.
 - c. Frontenac's raids.
 - d. Fighting in New England.

1. Frontier character of this warfare.
- e. Intercolonial cooperation.
 1. Leisler's congress (first intercolonial congress).
 2. Phips' expedition against Quebec.
 3. The expedition through New York.
- f. Management of the Iroquois.
- g. The indecisive peace of Ryswick, 1697.
- C. Second Intercolonial War (often called "Queen Anne's War"), 1702-1713.
 - a. European conditions. The War of the Spanish Succession.
 - b. Spanish war on the Carolina frontier.
 - c. Period of border raids, 1702-1709.
 1. Massacres, *e.g.*, Deerfield (1704).
 2. Feeble attacks on Port Royal.
 - d. Period of larger enterprises, 1710-1713.
 1. Vetch-Nicholson expedition captures Port Royal. Acadia becomes Nova Scotia. Port Royal becomes Annapolis.
 2. Walker-Hill expedition.
 - (a) Interest in England.
 - (1) Willingness of Tory ministry to seek glory in America, while withdrawing from European conflict.
 - (2) Peter Schuyler and the Mohawk chiefs.
 - (3) Choice of commanders.
 - (b) Colonial cooperation.
 - (1) By land.
 - (2) By sea.
 - (c) The attack on Quebec. Failure (1711).
 - (d) Peace of Utrecht.
- D. Review of British theory and practice of defense.
 - a. Reciprocal obligations of colonies and "mother country", which was called also the "realm" and the "metropolis".
 - b. Requisition system.
 - c. "Systems" of defense within the colonies.
 - d. Pacifism and indifference.
- E. Interval of Formal Peace, 1713-1740.
 - a. Policy of Walpole and Fleuri.
 - b. Continuation of frontier fighting in the north. Father Rasse's War.
 - c. Extension of settlements.
- F. War with Spain ("War of Jenkin's Ear") 1739-1742.
 - a. Foundation of Georgia.
 - b. Causes of war: territorial and commercial disputes in West Indies.
 - c. Georgia and Spanish attacks, 1736-1742.
 - d. Expedition to the West Indies.
- G. Third Intercolonial War (often called "King George's War").
 - a. The War of the Austrian Succession.
 - b. The capture of Louisbourg, 1745.
 1. William Shirley.
 2. Intercolonial cooperation.
 3. Part played by the English.
 4. Cost.
 - c. "The Grand Scheme of 1746".
 - d. The indecisive peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION VII

General Questions:

1. Why was Pennsylvania more rapidly settled than New York?

2. Why did Germany establish no colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries?
3. What racial traditions helped to intensify sectionalism in Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas.
4. Could we or could we not be properly described as an Anglo-Saxon nation in 1776?
5. Why did we have indented servants and negro slaves in America when they were not found in England?
6. What was the number and legal position of Catholics in the American colonies? Where did the idea of an established church prosper most in America? Even in those places what forces worked against it?
7. How extensive was the missionary activity for the benefit of the Indians in English America?
8. Why were the colleges of colonial America founded?
9. Can you explain and illustrate what is meant by the reference to the "colonial character of our literature"?
10. Comment on Benjamin Franklin as an influence in the development of American culture.
11. Write on "The diplomatic contest between France and England for Indian support during the century of struggle".
12. What can you say of the respective parts of the American colonies, as a whole, and the mother country, in this struggle before 1754?
13. Give a brief sketch of our military relations with Spain during the same time.

Questions on source reading:

1. Does the account of the Palatines in May Study No. 9 of the *Atlas* agree with that of John Conrad Weiser (II, 29)? What part of the Palatines' history is emphasized in the latter?
2. What were the rights of non-English immigrants in the English colonies in 1699 and 1754 (II, 34, 36). Consult a dictionary on "denizen" and "citizen".
3. According to Governor Sharpe (II, 36) what was the condition of Baltimore on the eve of the last intercolonial war?
4. Compare the lots of convicts, "free-willers" and slaves, as described by William Eddis (II, 107) shortly before the Revolution.
5. What elements of western character does Joseph Doddridge reveal in his *Notes* (II, 136) and the Marquis de Chastellux in his *Travels* (II, 137).
6. What proportion of New Yorkers went to church in 1760, judging from the Rev. Andrew Burnaby's account (II, 32)? Did New York have any more experience with soldiers than other towns before the Revolution? What seems to be the author's view of culture in New York at this time? What part of the people were Dutch at this time?
7. Compare the proportion of churches to people in Boston and New York about the middle of the 18th century, estimating five people to a dwelling house. (II, 32, 84).
8. On the basis of Increase Mather's comments (II, 93), compare the authority of the New England clergy in 1721 with what it had been in the middle of the previous century. (James Franklin, Benjamin's brother, published the *New England Courant*).
9. On what grounds did Judge Sewall, the first prominent American abolitionist (II, 103), contend against slavery?
10. According to John Woolman's account (II, 106), were all Friends abolitionists? What arguments do you find here not anticipated by Judge Sewall?
11. Compare the purposes in founding Yale College, as recited by President Clap (II, 90) with those in founding Harvard (I, 137) two generations earlier?
12. What do you think Francis Hopkinson was driving at in his skit on college examinations? (II, 96).
13. What did Edmund Burke think of the profession of law in the colonies? (II, 52).
14. After summarizing John Peter Zenger's account of his case and trial

(II, 72) explain why his acquittal was a landmark in the history of the press in America.

15. According to Franklin's *Autobiography*, (II, 81) were newspapers mail? Give examples of his prudence and his public service.

16. Indicate by date which of the advertisements listed in II, 105, might still appear in a newspaper today.

17. What was Governor Spotswood's belief, about 1718 (II, 110), as to the future of English America?

18. Judged by references in II, 100, 105, and 114, can you see that in at least one important particular we have made medicinal and sanitary advance since the eighteenth century?

19. What reflections do you find the most interesting in the extract from Professor Kalm's book given as II, 122?

20. What kind of language did William Johnson and other agents find it profitable to employ with the Indians? Can you give a striking example from II, 115?

21. Do you find in Miles Brewton's account of the Florida frontier (II, 118) and the Ballad of Pigwacket (II, 119) evidence that the fighting in America throughout the 18th century 'had but a loose connection with that of Europe', as observed in the *Atlas*, p. 135?

22. Write a paragraph on the mode of border warfare as illustrated in the attack on Corlaers, or Schenectady, in 1690 (II, 117).

23. Why did Cadwallader Colden think that the English would ultimately out-rival the French in the fur trade? (II, 111)?

24. What was the French trade and Indian policy after 1752 (II, 123)?

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 9.

SECTION VIII

THE FINAL CONQUEST OF NEW FRANCE

TEXT: Basset, pp. 121-130; Bolton and Marshall, pp. 366-383; 403-424; Becker, 155-160; Hart, pp. 22-41; Muzzey, *U. S.*, pp. 42-55.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 10.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. II, chap. xix; R. G. Thwaites, *France in America*, chaps. x-xviii.

Note: The principal task in this section is the preparation of a Critical Review of Francis Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Little, Brown & Co., Boston). The student should, however, read the accounts in the textbook first. Directions for the Review are given under separate heading.

I. The Fourth Intercolonial War (often called the "French and Indian War").

- A. Preliminaries.
- B. Campaign of 1755.
- C. Events of 1756-1757.
- D. Campaign of 1758.
- E. Campaign of 1759-1760.
- F. Spain in the War.
- G. Treaty of Paris 1763.
 - Territorial arrangements.
 - Problems relating to the retention of Canada.

II. Aftermath.

- A. Cherokee War, 1759-1761.
- B. Pontiac's conspiracy, 1763-1764.
 - 1. Grievances of the Indians.
 - 2. Scope of attack.
 - 3. Victory of the English.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION VIII

It is permissible to include the answers to any of these questions in the review of Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

1. John Fiske said that Parkman in his great series "depicted the social life of the Stone Age and the victory of the English political ideal over the ideal which French inherited from imperial Rome". What does he mean?

2. Do you think the personality of the commander makes much difference, after all, in influencing the outcome of campaigns and wars?

3. Was the military experience of the colonists in the last intercolonial war likely to have any result in the thought and organization of the Revolution?

4. Was the fighting efficiency of either contestant or both affected by political conditions in America?
5. Contrast the purpose of Newcastle with the purpose of Pitt.
6. Compare Amherst's policy toward the Indians with that which you understand has been followed by the United States government.
7. Why should England have considered the surrender of Canada to France? Was she wise to keep it?

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 10.

SECTION IX

IMPERIAL REFORM AND AMERICAN REMONSTRANCE

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 130-132, 161-181; Bolton and Marshall, 425-451; Becker, pp. 202-247; Hart, pp. 42-64.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, Nos. 37, 80, 88, 89, 101, 104, 124, 131-133, 135, 138, 139, 141-143, 145, 147-152, 156.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 11.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. II, chaps. i-vi; G. L. Howard, *Preliminaries of the American Revolution* (N. Y., 1905), chaps. i-ii, iv-xvii; C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution* (N. Y., 1905), chaps. i-ii; R. Frothingham, *The Rise of the Republic* (Boston, 1872), pp. 101-157; W. E. H. Lecky, *England in the 18th Century* (N. Y., 1893), Vol. IV, chap. xi; C. Becker, *The Eve of the Revolution* (New Haven, 1919); M. C. Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution* (N. Y., 1897), Vol. I, chaps. v, xi-xii; Vol. II, chaps. xxiv-xxv.

I. Introductory.

A. Factors making for American nationality.

a. Toward independence. Self-reliance.

1. Character of settlers.
2. Distance from Europe.
3. Adequate national resources. Commerce.
4. Rapid increase of population.
5. Experience in colonial wars. Training. Resentment toward English officers.
6. Expulsion of France from North America.
7. Long practice in self-government.
8. "Salutary neglect" in enforcing trade laws.

b. Toward union.

1. Fundamental ethnic unity.
2. Expansion of settlement.
3. Post office and post roads.
4. Co-operation in wars and in Indian affairs.
5. Frontier population without strong local ties.
6. Common religious interests.
 - (a) New England.
 - (b) The "Great Awakening".
 - (c) Church organizations, especially Anglican and Presbyterian.
7. Growing mutual sympathy in contest with prerogative. Quarrels with governors.
8. Projects and experiment with respect to union.
 - (a) Imperial initiative—prerogative idea.
 - (1) Stuart policy. Dominion of New England.
 - (2) Personal unions.
 - (i) Commissions to Fletcher, Bellomont, etc.

- (ii) New Hampshire and Massachusetts, 1702-1741; New York and New Jersey, 1702-1738; Pennsylvania and Delaware.
- (3) Board of Trade plans and others. Nothing left but Parliamentary union which would mean Parliamentary taxation.
- (b) Colonial initiative—federal idea.
 - (1) New England Confederation.
 - (2) William Penn's "Brief Scheme", 1697.
 - (3) Albany Congress of 1754 and Franklin's plan.
- B. Factors making against American nationality.
 - a. Against independence.
 - 1. Reverence for the English tradition.
 - 2. Satisfaction with old colonial system as long as the less pleasant parts were not enforced.
 - 3. Pride in imperial prestige.
 - b. Against union of colonies.
 - 1. Individuality in origin of colonies. Exceptions.
 - 2. Difficulties of communication.
 - 3. Boundary disputes.
 - 4. Trade jealousies. Ports. Indian trade.
 - 5. Friction between colonies in personal unions.
 - 6. Religious prejudice with respect to New England.
 - 7. Ill-feeling between New England and Dutch New York.
 - c. Against solidarity within colonies.
 - 1. Two-fold character of American Revolution.
 - (a) International aspect; contest for home rule.
 - (b) Domestic aspect; contest for rule at home.
 - 2. Class feeling.
 - 3. Sectional feeling.
 - (a) Grievances of the Old West. Representation, suffrage, Indian policy, laws on debt, taxes, etc.
 - (b) Organized protest.
 - Paxton riots in Pennsylvania; "Regulators" in Carolinas.

II. Through-going Change in British Colonial Policy.

- A. Short-comings of old practice.
 - a. Review Section VI, part I, Be2(e), 3(d), (4); part II, C, part III.
 - b. Questions at issue in early 'sixties.
 - 1. Writs of Assistance, 1761, James Otis.
 - 2. Disallowance of laws.
 - (a) Parson's Cause.
 - (b) Paper money laws.
 - (c) Slave trade laws, etc.
 - 3. Tenure of office, especially of judges' (during "good behavior" or "King's pleasure"?).
 - 4. Payment of officials from imperial revenues; especially judges in New York (also New Jersey, North Carolina and Pennsylvania).
 - 5. Anglican bishopric.
 - 6. Non-payment of debts by colonists; especially planters.
 - 7. Old controversies with governors.
 - 8. Currency. Review Section VI, part I, A f3.
 - c. Weaknesses revealed in last intercolonial war.
 - 1. Failure of requisition system.
 - 2. Need of centralized Indian policy.
 - 3. Trading with the enemy. Rule of 1756. See above, b1.
- B. New developments after 1763.
 - a. Greater need of protection in America.
 - b. Huge war debt. Need of money. Propositions.

1. Reports of English military officers on economic conditions of colonists.
 2. Actual enforcement of old revenue laws?
 - (a) Previous Parliamentary statutes with incidental revenue features; 1673, 1733. Increase in revenue after 1756.
 3. New statutes principally for revenue.
 - (a) Apparently of old type: suggestions by Governors Hunter, Keith, Colden, Dinwiddie, Shirley, etc., that all salaries of imperial officers be paid from excise and customs duties.
 - (b) Of new type:
 - (1) Previous suggestions of stamp tax, *e.g.*, Alex. Cummings, Boston post office, 1722.
 - (2) Experience of post office.
 - c. Currency Act of 1764. Feeling in Va., S. C., and the frontier. Later complaints of R. I., Pa., etc.
 - d. Administration of the West.
 1. Discussion of new western colonies.
 2. Royal Proclamation Line of 1763.
 - e. New interest in imperial affairs.
 1. New colonies. The Floridas, Nova Scotia, Quebec.
 2. Secretary of State for the Colonies (1768).
 - f. Policy of George III.
 1. Toward the English Constitution.
 2. Toward party government. "Kings Friends". Methods.
 3. Survey of ministers and ministries.
 4. George III's agreement with Whig and Tory policy as to the colonies.
- C. Grenville's Policy of Taxation, 1763-1766.
- a. Plans.
 1. Acts of trade.
 - (a) High duties on wines, abolition of drawbacks, restriction of manufacturing, extension of list of "enumerated articles", bounties.
 - (b) Admiralty courts strengthened and jurisdiction enlarged.
 - (c) Sugar Act of 1764.
 - (d) Revenue service inaugurated. Resident collectors. Hovering Act.
 2. Standing army in America.
 - (a) Alleged necessity.
 - (b) Billeting Act, 1765.
 3. Stamp Act. Year's delay and collection of opinion. Grenville's defense of the Stamp Act. Attitude of colonial agents.
 - b. Colonial opposition.
 1. To acts of trade. Reasons. Trial by jury.
 2. To standing army. Reasons. New York and Billeting Act.
 3. Stamp Act.

Note: Many colonial merchants who disliked Grenville's policy chiefly on account of the new acts of trade, especially the Sugar Act, found in the Stamp Act better constitutional ground on which to base their protest.

 - (a) American creed: "Taxation without representation is tyranny" (see below, c).
 - (b) Emergence of American leaders: Henry, Samuel Adams, Otis, Gadsden, etc.
 - (c) Protest from colonial assemblies, *e.g.*, Virginia and Massachusetts.
 - (d) Enforcement prevented by mob violence. No votes, but voices. Especially Boston and New York ("Sons of Liberty"). Courts closed.

- (e) Concerted action. The Stamp Act Congress, 1765, at New York.
 - (1) Petition.
 - (2) Declaration of Rights. Appeal to charters and common rights of Englishmen.
- 4. Boycott of British imports. Effect in England.
- 5. Encouragement of home production. Many communities forswear lamb. Markets for colonial manufactures.
- c. Constitutional questions involved.
 - 1. Theory of Parliamentary powers.
 - (a) Jurisdiction of Parliament (*i.e.*, ministry).
 - (1) English theory. Parliament's control extended throughout the empire. Weakened by "salutary neglect".
 - (2) Colonial theory. Parliament by consent of the colonies, was in control of strictly imperial concerns, *e.g.*, control of trade throughout the empire, but in all local affairs, the local legislature—in Great Britain, Parliament; in each dominion, its own assembly, etc.—was in control. All under the same king.
 - (b) Extent of Parliament's power.
 - (1) English theory. Parliament absolutely sovereign. This theory developed after 1689, *i.e.*, after foundation of the colonies, and not understood by the colonists.
 - (2) Colonial theory. English Constitution fundamental law controlling even Parliament. The charters were contracts giving colonists the protection of the English Constitution.
 - 2. Specific questions in exercise of Parliamentary powers.
 - (a) Methods of enforcing revenue measures; method of trial; writs of assistance.
 - (b) Taxation. Thought especially to belong to local legislatures. Distinction between taxation and other legislation. Distinction between "external" and "internal" taxation. Objections to colonists' arguments on taxation.
 - 3. Questions of virtual representation, and direct representation of colonists in Parliament.
- d. Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766.
 - 1. Reasons. Constitutionality and expediency.
 - (a) Arguments of Pitt and Barré.
 - (b) Arguments of Burke.
 - (c) Action of British business men.
 - 2. Declaratory Act.
 - 3. Modification of Sugar Act: All molasses to pay 1 d. on importation.
- D. Townshend's Policy of Taxation, 1767-1770.
 - a. The Acts of 1767.
 - 1. Revenue Acts: "external taxes" in force. Payment in specie.
 - 2. Customs commission in America.
 - 3. Suspension of New York Assembly.
 - 4. Legalization of Writs of Assistance.
 - b. Colonial opposition.
 - 1. Dickinson's "Farmer's Letters".
 - 2. Local non-importation agreements throughout the colonies. Enforcement by ostracism.
 - 3. Action of assemblies: *e.g.*, Massachusetts Circular Letter (1768) as to natural and constitutional rights; Virginia Resolves (1769).
 - 4. Abatement of interest.
 - c. Partial Repeal.
 - 1. Economic and political reasons for repealing most of the acts.
 - 2. Reasons for keeping the tea tax. George III and Lord North.

III. Development of Revolutionary Sentiment.

- A. Continued irritation.
 - a. Irritation in garrison towns.
 - 1. "Golden Hill affair" (New York, January, 1770).
 - 2. "Boston Massacre" (March, 1770).
 - b. Irritation in port towns *in re* revenue cutters.
 - 1. John Hancock's sloop, "Liberty" (1768).
 - Destruction of the "Gaspé" (1772). Discussion of Dockyard Law.
 - c. Apprehension of impending coercion. The Hutchinson letters.
- B. Organization of revolutionary activity.
 - a. Personality of Samuel Adams. Other organizers.
 - b. Local Committees of Correspondence.
 - c. Intercolonial Committees of Correspondence. Va. after "Gaspé Affair". Discussion of non-importation and non-exportation agreements.
- C. The Tea Act, 1773.
 - a. Economic and political reasons for this act.
 - b. Attitude of American merchants toward policy of designated consignees.
 - c. Criticism of the East India Company; measures of passive resistance.
 - d. Reception of tea in American ports. "Boston Tea Party".
- D. The "Intolerable Acts".
 - a. Boston Port Bill.
 - b. Massachusetts Act. Abolition of charter privileges.
 - c. Quartering Act.
 - d. Transportation Act. For royal officials.
- E. The Quebec Act, often numbered with the "Intolerable Acts" (Review part II, B c).
- F. The First Continental Congress.
 - a. Method of calling the Congress.
 - b. Revolutionary literature: Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View*; *Suffolk Resolutions*; letters of Samuel Adams.
 - c. Personnel and organization. Georgia not represented. Secret session.
 - d. Accomplishment.
 - 1. Attempt at conciliation.
 - (a) Consideration of Galloway's proposal: American Parliament to co-operate with British Parliament.
 - (b) Addresses to king. People.
 - 2. "The Associations". Method of enforcement.
 - 3. Provision for another Congress.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION IX

General Questions.

1. Write a note of about 300 words on any topic mentioned under "Factors making for American nationality".
2. Were racial differences important in preventing a union of the colonies?
3. What is meant by "particularism" (consult the dictionary, if necessary) and how was it illustrated in the history of the colonies?
4. Professor F. J. Turner, in his *Frontier in American History*, p. 15, says that "Particularism was strongest in colonies without an Indian frontier". Why was this true? Give an example of such a colony.
5. Explain the circumstances and significance of the following: The Parson's Cause, the Anglican Bishopric question. Writs of Assistance.
6. How did the last Intercolonial War operate to bring about reform in the British colonial system?

7. What would you have done if you had been in George Grenville's place, and why?

8. Did the Grenville plan show any change from the older theory of responsibility for defense in America?

9. What do you believe to have been the effect on the American mind of the Stamp Act demonstrations—suspending the use of courts, “annulling” a law by forcibly preventing anyone from accepting office to execute it, refusal to pay debts to Englishmen, destruction of property, etc.?

10. C. E. Merriam in his *American Political Theories*, p. 46, says of the colonial critics of the British ministry that “They had, in short, an antiquated theory as to the position and power of Parliament and a premature theory of Parliamentary representation”. Can you explain this?

11. The colonists seem not to have complained about the new Molasses Act of 1766. Does this seem consistent? How do you explain it?

12. A. M. Schlesinger in an able article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March 1919, reminds us that there were three great groups of the American people in 1765; those in the northern coastal region (to Mason and Dixon's line), those along the southern coast, and those in the west from New England to Georgia. What would you think to have been the reaction of each on the progress of the reform, in whole or in its parts?

13. What was the significance of the Townshend Acts?

14. Sketch the character and activity of Samuel Adams.

15. What did John Adams mean and imply when in 1773 he said “The fealty and allegiance of the Americans is indubitably due to the person of George III, whom God long preserve and prosper”. (*Works*, Vol. IV, p. 146)?

16. Do you think the Quebec Act of 1774 an improper measure?

17. “Among its members was George Washington, but the lead was taken by men of a different stamp, the demagogue Samuel Adams of Boston, and the charlatan, Patrick Henry of Virginia”. This is the comment on the First Continental Congress by an English writer (Woodward, *The Expansion of the British Empire*; London, 1912, p. 215). After reflection and, preferably, some reading on Adams and Henry, write your own judgment on this characterization.

18. Why may the First Continental Congress be called “revolutionary”?

Questions on source reading:

1. Do you find anything in Madam Knight's Journal (II, 80) to illustrate the difficulties of travel and of trade in the early part of the 18th century?

2. Do you see any analogy between the discussion of the Albany Plan by Governor Hopkins (II, 125) and that of the League of Nations in 1919-1920?

3. What was England's policy with respect to the Ohio Valley according to the Earl of Holderness? (II, 124).

4. Why did Lord Dunmore advise the British against supporting a new colony in the Ohio Valley? (II, 135).

5. By reference to some larger history can you give any reasons for the behavior of the mob of “Regulators” in North Carolina, described by Judge Henderson? (II, 150). Hillsboro can be located on our map 19a.

6. What was the gist of James Otis' argument against the Writs of Assistance? (II, 131).

7. What was the character of Henry's argument in the Parson's Cause as recorded by the plaintiff Mr. Maury? (II, 37).

8. What were Archbishop Secker's reasons (II, 101) for desiring a bishop in America? What objections did he expect to encounter? What was his opinion as to the best method of campaign?

9. Why did the Reverend Charles Chauncy (II, 147) think that the demand for a bishop by the members of the Anglican Church in America was not well grounded?

10. Reading the Board of Trade's pronouncement about the New Jersey slave act (II, 104) in connection with Professor Hart's note, what would you conclude about the sincerity of the statement of reasons given?

11. Tell in your own words what Governor Burnet (II, 88) meant by credit

founded on reason and common opinion? What was his best point in defense of paper money? What was the English government's conclusion sixteen years later (II, 89)?

12. What American arguments are ignored in our extract from Samuel Johnson's *Taxation on Tyranny* (II, 156)?

13. Review Martin Howard's *Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax* (II, 138) as he has reviewed *The Rights of the Colonies Examined*.

14. Summarize and comment upon Franklin's argument the Stamp Act (II, 133).

15. What light is thrown by Josiah Quincy's account of the "Hutchinson Riots" (II, 139) on the character of some of those participating in the Stamp Act agitation?

16. Which items of the "Declaration of the Rights and Grievances of the Colonists" (II, 141) refer to the "unconstitutionality" of the Stamp Act? Which to the unfairness? Which to the practical inexpediency? Was there complaint of anything besides the Stamp Act?

17. Do you find any protest in the "Declaration of Rights, etc." (II, 141) and in Franklin's Examination (II, 143) against the kind of money required in payment of stamp dues? Why did Franklin think that Grenville's policy was unconstitutional, unfair and inexpedient?

18. How did Pitt in his Parliamentary speech of 1766 (II, 142) distinguish between taxation and ordinary legislation with respect to America? Between external and internal taxation? Do you see the bearing of this on the Declaratory Act? What does Pitt mean by the following: "America if she fell would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state and pull down the constitution with her"?

19. Horace Walpole (II, 145) reports Charles Townshend as saying of the colonists: "More contemptuously still they promised aid on the requisition of the Crown, but said nothing of Parliament. Were they, he asked, the descendents of those who had fled from prerogative to America?" Discuss this. How had the colonists behaved with reference to the "Mutiny Act" of 1765 to quarter troops in America?

20. How can you account for the demands and extraordinary demonstration following the "Boston Massacre" as described by Deacon Tudor in his diary? (II, 151).

21. Why did the Hutchinson Letters (II, 148) when published cause such a sensation in Massachusetts?

22. What course did John Dickinson advise in his "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer"? (II, 149). Why did he think independence would be undesirable? (The note is in error; Dickinson served after 1776 as a soldier and a Congressman).

23. Exactly why did the Boston radicals think it necessary to throw the tea overboard in 1773? (II, 165).

24. Why does Professor Hart include an extract from Wilkes' *North Briton*, No. 45 (II, 132) in his volumes on American history?

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 11.

SECTION X

INDEPENDENCE

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 181-188, 217-219, 230-231; Bolton and Marshall, pp. 453-476, 546-553; Hart, pp. 64-82; Muzzey, *U. S.*, pp. 55-78.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, Nos. 120, 153-155, 157, 161, 166, 168, 172, 173, 184, 186, 188, 189, 191; Vol. III, Nos. 10, 19.

Collateral Reading: E Channing, *United States*, Vol. III, chap. vii and pp. 431-444; G. L. Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, chap. xviii; C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*, chaps. iv-vi, ix, xi; M. C. Tyler, *Literary History of the Revolution*, Vol. I, xiii-xviii, xxi-xxiii; H. Friedenwald, *The Declaration of Independence* (N. Y., 1904); C. E. Merriam, *American Political Theories*, (N. Y., 1903), chap. ii.

I. The Development of Extra-Legal Government.

- A. Committees of Correspondence (review Section IX, part III, B).
 - a. In the enforcement of Association of 1774.
 - b. Effect on public opinion. "Minute Men", etc. Military Stores.
- B. First British stroke to stop revolutionary organization, and response.
 - a. Quarrel between General Gage and the Massachusetts legislature.
 - b. Lexington and Concord (April 19, 1775).
 - c. Effect on American public.
 - d. Volunteer military activity. Ticonderoga. Crown Point.
 - e. Siege of Boston. Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775).
- C. Second Continental Congress.
 - a. Authority of delegates.
 - b. Personnel.
 - 1. Leaders and parties.
 - 2. Organization.
 - 3. Sentiment of union.
 - c. Petition to king.
 - d. Assumption of military administration. Choice of commander: a "gentleman, a Virginian, and a soldier".
- D. Military events before Independence.
 - a. Expedition to Quebec.
 - b. British invasion of the Carolinas (considered later).
 - c. Evacuation of Boston.

II. Remonstrance of the Loyalists.

- A. General view of results in America to 1775 of the "Attempt at Reform".
 - a. Ill-feeling supplants contentment with the old condition.
 - b. Effect of *vacillation* of the British government.
 - c. Growth of antagonism between imperial agents and colonials.
 - d. American interests supplant local interests.
- B. The party struggle. Radicals and Loyalists compete for the Neutrals.
 - a. Radicals.
 - 1. Leaders and local organization.

2. Number.
3. Character and purposes of adherents. Mobs.
4. Geographical distribution in 1775.
- b. Loyalists.
 1. Composition
 - (a) Political factors. Officials and aspirants.
 - (b) Social factors. Love of order; dislike of mob,—*e.g.*, some New York landholders.
 - (c) Economic factors. Merchants, etc. with wealth to lose.
 - (d) Religious factors. Most "Episcopals" in the North.
 - (e) Psychological factors.
 - (f) Geographical factors.
 - (1) Georgia.
 - (2) Sectional prejudice; in N. C., N. Y., *vs.* New England, etc.
 - (g) Estimates of number. Note: in his *Works*, Vol. X, p. 110, John Adams stated his opinion in 1815 that one-third of the Americans had been against the Revolution, one-third had been decidedly for it, and one-third rather lukewarm. In the competition for this last neutral third the superior organization of the revolutionists was more successful, but they never could be perfectly sure of a large part of it.
 - (h) Geographical distribution.
 2. General attitude of Loyalists.
 - (a) Few wholly satisfied with conditions in America.
 - (b) Legal reformers.
 - (c) Fundamental political theory of extremists. Jonathan Boucher.
 3. Constructive suggestion.
 - (a) Joseph Galloway's plan of colonial home rule.
 - (b) Other plans.
 4. Criticism of Congress.
 - (a) Writings of Daniel Leonard ("Massachusettsensis").
 - (b) Writings of the Anglicans: Samuel Seabury, Chandler, Wilkins, Cooper.
 5. Measures of punishment or persecution.
 - (a) By Congress. Disarmament, March 14, 1776.
 - (b) By State legislation.
 - (c) By Committees of Safety, etc.
 6. General view of activities of Loyalists in the War. The American Revolution as a Civil War. On the Frontier.
 7. Fate of the Loyalists.

III. English Attitude toward the War.

- A. Review Section IX, part II, Bf.
- B. Position of various English parties and groups as to the war and policy: view of Dr. Josiah Tucker, Adam Smith, etc.

IV. The Campaign for Independence.

- A. Embitterment of feeling against Great Britain.
 - a. New England Restraining Act (1775). Fisheries.
 - b. Congress' Address to the king ignored.
 - c. British Proclamation of Rebellion, August 23, 1775. (Many whigs had thought they were but repelling the unwarrantable violence of Gage's army).
 - d. Terrorism by British troops. Charlestown, Falmouth.
- B. Movement in Congress toward Assumption of Sovereignty.
 - a. Lord North's conciliation plan rejected.
 - b. Congress' first advice to the states (June 9, 1775).

- c. Ports opened to all but British.
 - d. Privateers authorized.
- C. Development of Revolutionary Political Theory.
- a. Decline of king's prestige in America.
 - b. Growing uncertainty about the English Constitution.
 - c. Rights of Englishmen superseded by Rights of Man.
 - 1. Theory of an original state of nature.
 - 2. Natural rights. John Adams. Hamilton.
 - 3. Social contract (or compact).
 - 4. Source of government's authority.
 - 5. Purpose of government.
 - d. Thomas Jefferson's "Summary View."
 - e. Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" (January, 1776).
 - 1. Criticism of British institutions (Royalty and George III in particular).
 - 2. Confidence in America.
 - f. Virginia Bill of Rights (June 12, 1776).
 - g. Sources of Revolutionary theory.
 - 1. English political philosophy of the seventeenth century.
 - 2. Extent of French influence.
 - 3. Covenant idea. Puritans. Presbyterians.
- D. Spread of Revolutionary sentiment.
- a. Reasons for the advanced position of New England.
 - b. The South.
 - 1. Virginia.
 - (a) Psychology of the Virginia aristocracy.
 - (b) Leaders in independence movement.
 - (c) Economic motives toward independence. Sectarian unrest.
 - (d) Lord Dunmore's indiscretion. Battle of Great Bridge, December 1775.
 - 2. North Carolina.
 - (a) Civil War; battle of Moore's Creek, February, 1776.
 - (b) Attitude toward Sir Henry Clinton's invasion.
 - 3. South Carolina.
 - (a) Social and economic similarities to Virginia. Influence of Charleston.
 - (b) British hope of German settlers' support. Sir Henry Clinton's impending attack.
 - 4. Georgia.
 - c. The Middle States and Maryland.
- E. Instructions for Independence.
- a. Opinion in N. C., R. I., Mass.
 - b. Congress' second advice to the colonies, May 10, 1776.
 - c. Virginia Resolutions presented. Three weeks delay.
 - d. Later endorsements before July 2.
 - (Report of employment of Hessians. Report of repulse of Clinton at Charlestown).
- F. The Declaration of Independence.
- a. Final argument against Declaration. Radicals view. Lee's resolutions of July 2.
 - b. Authorship.
 - c. The signing.
 - d. Character of the Declaration.
- G. The Conversion of New York.
- a. Review C2.
 - b. Extra-legal organization.
 - 1. Committee of Fifty-One; Committee of Sixty. (Attitude of Assembly).

2. Provincial Convention (irregularities in election).
 3. Committee of One Hundred.
 4. Leaders on each side.
 5. New York accepts the Declaration at White Plains, July 9, 1776.
- H. Effect of the Declaration in America.

V. The State Constitutions.

- A. Basis of authority.
 - a. Compact theory.
 - b. Charters as fundamental laws.
- B. Mode of formation and ratification.
 - a. By provincial congresses.
 - b. By constitutional convention and popular ratification—Massachusetts, 1780; New Hampshire, 1784.
- C. Framework.
 - a. Similarity of institutions.
 - b. Legislature; form, term, qualifications, powers.
 - c. Executive; form, term, qualifications, powers.
 - d. Judiciary; form, term, qualifications, powers.
 - e. Local government (almost unchanged).
- D. Sources of institutions.
 - a. England.
 - b. Holland.
 - c. Colonial precedents. Conservatism.
- E. Political philosophy of the early state constitution and laws.
 - a. Protection of individual liberty. Negative control.
 1. Theory of government as a dangerous necessity.
 - (a) Limitations on governmental authority.
 - i. Written instruments of specifications.
 - ii. Bills of Rights. Content. Origin.
 - iii. Ultimate basis of individual's rights in state of nature.
 - (b) Theory of balance of power.
 - (c) Short terms; limitation upon re-election.
 - (d) Preference for local government.
 - (e) Subordination of military to civil power.
 - b. Democratic tendencies in politics.
 1. Statement of belief in equality of men (repetition of Declaration of Independence).
 2. Actual dominance of legislature. Annual election.
 3. Some extension of suffrage. Congress' advice.
 4. Attitude toward hereditary privilege and distinction in politics.
 - c. Democratic tendencies in society.
 1. Anti-slavery sentiment.
 - (a) Influence of "Equality" and "Rights of Man" argument.
 - (b) Abolition in constitution of Massachusetts (as later interpreted) and New Hampshire.
 - (c) Legal action of Pa., N. Y., etc.
 - d. Aristocratic survivals.
 1. Limitations on suffrage. (None of the thirteen states allowed manhood suffrage).
 - (a) Property qualifications.
 - (b) Religious qualifications.
 2. Limitations on office-holding.
 3. Relations of church and state.

VI. Formation of the Government of the United States.

A. Scheme Prepared.

- a. Review IV, Ec and Fa.
- b. Committee of June 12, 1776. Report July 12.
- c. Presentation to the states of the plan.
- d. November 17, 1777.

B. Character.

General view of a. Relations of states to Congress. b. Lack of executive. (Details considered later).

C. The Second Continental Congress continues until 1781.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION X

General Questions:

1. What, if any, *revolutionary* activities preceded the armed conflict of the Revolutionary War?

2. After reviewing in your mind the relations between America and the British authorities state your opinion of the historical truth of a line from a poem read on a public occasion in 1917, which stated that in 1775 we fought "Not England but her Prussian King". What part did the king play in the war?

3. Why did so many of the rich and cultivated people of the north throw in their lot with the Loyalists, while a smaller proportion did so in the south?

4. Do you think that such pamphleteers as Seabury had any valid ground for criticizing Congress? How would you defend Congress? (M. C. Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution*, chapters xv and xviii, offers interesting comment on this subject, if the student has opportunity to read it).

5. Were there any classes of people who may be described as neutral? How do you account for this?

6. How did the Loyalists behave during the war?

7. Do you believe that the fate of liberty in England hung at all upon the issue of the American Revolution?

8. Why did the colonists change the basis of their contention from the "rights of Englishmen" to the "rights of men"?

9. Why was the revolutionary theory especially appropriate to the American environment?

10. Why did New England lead in revolutionary sentiment? Why did New York lag behind?

11-15. After reading that part of the Declaration of Independence dealing with the "history of repeated injuries and usurpations", assign to each clause as many instances as you can recall, as: 1. (a) The law giving rise to the "Parsons' Cause" (Va.), etc.

16. What was the "compact theory"?

17. What do you understand by "liberty"?

18. Why did Americans prefer to trust legislatures?

19. Do you think the "democrats" among the revolutionists got much attention in the state constitutions?

20. Distinguish between political and social democracy.

21. How do you account for the "aristocratic survivals"?

Questions on source reading:

1. After reading Lord Dunmore's account of the enforcement of the "Association" (II, 154), when would you say the Revolution really began in Virginia? Explain your answer.

2. What authority did members of Revolutionary conventions have, e.g., that of Maryland (II, 184)?

3. In the organization of the First Continental Congress (II, 153) what con-

licting opinions were presented as to representation and on policy toward Great Britain? What change in the view of British jurisdiction in matters of trade control does Gadsden's speech reveal? What circumstances impaired the efficiency of Congress? Do you see here any proposition which suggests representation of economic or social classes? Is there anything in our extracts from the proceedings of the Continental Congress to show that the fathers recognized economic interests as operating in politics? (II, 153 and 189).

4. Why were slaves thought necessary to the south? What does Dr. Rush mean by his statement that "China is not larger than one of our colonies"? Why was the problem of representation a difficult one? (II, 189).

5. What acts of Great Britain do you think helped most to bring the colonists to oppose the king as well as Parliament? See Drayton's charge to the grand jury (II, 157).

6. In the Declaration on the Necessity of Taking Up Arms (II, 155) what statutes are referred to? What was the sentiment in 1775 regarding independence? Foreign assistance?

7. Give your opinion of the probability of truth as to the Lexington and Concord engagements, after reading both accounts given as II, 191.

8. Do you feel with "A Whig" (II, 168) that resentment against the Tories was justified? What do you think of the punishment proposed?

9. As far as you can trust our extract from *Rivington's Gazette* (II, 161) what kind of people were Loyalists in Massachusetts and how were they treated even before the Battle of Lexington? Were the committees always content with promises of silence? (II, 166).

10. What evidence do you discover in Alexander Graydon's account (II, 120) of a spirit among the American private soldiers that probably was not found among the British? What does he think of the enthusiasm for war in Pennsylvania?

11. What about America most impressed Lafayette (II, 172) and why?

12. What do you think Paine's best argument for independence, and why? (II, 186).

13. In drafting the Declaration of Independence (II, 188) what matters were excluded? Why? (The statement in the last sentence from Jefferson here printed has been challenged by recent historians; see H. Friedenwald, *The Declaration of Independence*, p. 140).

14. In the New Hampshire constitution of 1776 (II, 187) what do you regard as characteristic of the Revolutionary constitution in general? In what was this constitution less complete than those which followed?

15. As far as the testimony of Jefferson's Notes on Virginia (III, 10), Mrs. Carter and Philip Fithian (III, 19) may serve us, what seems to have been the opinion held by some as to the value of slavery to Virginia, about the time of the Revolution? What was Tench Coxe's opinion (see p. 66)?

16. What topic of the syllabus do you think is illustrated by Hamilton's advice on a battalion of negroes?

SECTION XI

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 188-216; Bolton and Marshall, pp. 482-545; Becker, pp. 247-275; Hart, pp. 82-101; Muzzey, *U. S.*, pp. 78-108.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, Nos. 130, 158, 174, 176, 185, 190, 194, 195, 198, 199, 201, 203, 206, 212, 214-217, 220, 250; Vol. III, No. 48.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 12.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. III, chaps. viii-xii; C. H. Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chaps. iii, vii-viii, x, xii-xvii; A. C. McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution* (N. Y., 1905), chaps. i-ii; J. Fiske, *The American Revolution* (Boston, 1891), Vol. I, pp. 147-170, 198-238, 249-252, 258-276, 280-339; Vol. II, pp. 59-66, 75-81, 104-115, 147-157, 165-193, 244-290.

I. General Plan of War in 1776.

A. Great Britain.

a. Military.

1. Military difficulties.

(a) Problems of war in America.

(b) Condition of His Majesty's forces.

2. Plans.

(a) War Department: Siege (navy, ports, predatory excursions inland).

(b) Ministry (actually adopted): internal conquest (divide and conquer through New York).

b. Diplomatic: the "conciliatory policy".

B. America. Repel invasion.

II. The War in the North. First Period (1776-1778).

A. Howe's first campaign.

a. Sir William Howe.

b. The stroke for Manhattan Island. Brooklyn Heights (August 27, 1776).

c. The race for the inland key. White Plains (October 22, 1776). Fortification of the Highlands.

d. Washington's masterly retreat across New Jersey.

1. Precarious condition. Paine's "Crisis".

2. Trenton, Princeton. (December-January).

3. Renewed enthusiasm.

B. The campaigns of 1777.

a. Attempted isolation of New England. Campaign for the Hudson Valley.

1. Triple-headed plan of the British. Incapacity of British War Office.

2. St. Leger in the Mohawk Valley.

3. Burgoyne's disastrous campaign. Schuyler, Arnold and Gates.

4. The "Convention" and results.

- b. Howe's Philadelphia campaign.
 - 1. Occupation of "rebel capital".
 - 2. Brandywine; Germantown, Valley Forge.

III. Administration and Diplomacy.

- A. American forces.
 - a. The army.
 - 1. Congressional "control". Board of War, Jan. 1776. Defects of arrangement.
 - 2. Composition of army.
 - (a) State militia.
 - (b) Continentals.
 - (c) Emergency local volunteers.
 - 3. Equipment and training.
 - (a) Difficulties of getting materials. Suffering.
 - (b) Lack of officers. Foreigners. Lafayette. Steuben.
 - 4. Spirit of the army.
 - (a) Evils.
 - (1) State jealousy. Enlistment laws.
 - (2) Democratic individualism.
 - (3) Intrigue of officers; Conway Cabal.
 - (b) Salvation.
 - (1) Washington and his loyal supporters.
 - (2) Potential resistance to British in most localities over the vast extent of territory.
 - (3) Individual efficiency of soldiers.
 - (4) Physical hardness of soldiers.
 - b. The navy.
 - 1. Congressional organization.
 - 2. State navies.
 - 3. Privateering.
 - 4. The record of the navy.
- B. Finances.
 - a. Organization: treasury board; superintendent; board resumed.
 - b. Schemes of revenue: requisitions, domestic and foreign loans, paper money.
 - c. Depreciation and repudiation; results.
- C. Diplomacy.
 - a. Three-fold character of the War, 1776-1783.
 - 1. Civil conflict; Whigs and Loyalists.
 - 2. National struggle; Great Britain and America.
 - 3. International struggle.
 - b. International situation after 1763.
 - 1. Review Section VII, part I, G.
 - 2. Old grievances of France against England.
 - 3. Grievances of Spain against England.
 - 4. Ill-feeling between Holland and England.
 - c. Congressional effort.
 - 1. Organization of diplomatic activity; committee; secretary; committee.
 - 2. Employment of commercial weapons.
 - 3. Agents in European court.
 - d. French aid.
 - 1. Individuals. Influence of French 'philosophy. Other foreigners in service.
 - 2. Secret financial aid.
 - 3. Arrangement of alliance, 1778.

- (a) Motives.
- (b) Immediate cause.
- (c) Terms of treaties.
- 4. Influence of French aid on course of the war.
- 5. Influence of American Revolution on France.
- e. Final rejection of conciliation. Lord North's proposal of 1778.
- f. The isolation of England.
 - 1. War with France.
 - 2. War with Spain.
 - (a) Motives of alliance with France, 1779.
 - (b) Incidental benefits to America.
 - 3. League of Armed Neutrality, 1780. Causes and conduct.
 - 4. War with Holland.

IV. War in the North. Second Period (1778-1781).

- A. Virtual abandonment by British of Ministry's plan in the North.
 - a. Howe's retirement from Philadelphia. Escapes Washington at Monmouth, July 27, 1778. Riddance of Charles Lee.
 - b. Howe superseded by Sir Henry Clinton. Transfer of war to the South (1779).
 - c. British good fortune at Newport (1778).
- B. Loyalist activities.
 - a. Military Power.
 - 1. Number in the British army. Loyalist militia. Privateering.
 - 2. Number of indifferent Americans in Middle States. Farmers, Quakers, Germans.
 - b. Activities.
 - 1. Savage warfare.
 - (a) Wyoming Valley and Cherry Valley (1779).
 - (b) Burke on Indian allies.
 - (c) Sullivan's retaliatory raid (1779).
 - 2. Tryon's Connecticut raid (1780).
 - 3. The "Neutral Ground" of New York; (operation about Stony Point, 1780).
 - 4. Arnold's treason (1780).
 - (a) Negotiations. André.
 - (b) Subsequent career. Virginia. Connecticut.

V. War in the West.

- A. Pioneers' enthusiasm for American cause.
- B. Clark's expedition.
 - a. "Sympathy, slight aid, and a commission" granted Clark by Virginia.
 - b. Difficulties.
 - c. Capture of Kaskaskia (1778) and Vincennes (1779).
 - d. Clark's expedition as basis of American claim to Northwest.

VI. War in the South.

- A. British plan.
- B. British success (1778-1780).
 - a. Engagements: Savannah. Charleston. Camden.
 - b. Conquest.
 - 1. Georgia restored as province.
 - 2. South Carolina state government ousted.
 - c. Methods. Cornwallis. Tarleton.

- C. American success (1780-1781).
 - a. Informal warfare.
 - 1. Partisan bands. Attitude of population.
 - 2. King's Mountain.
 - b. Greene's campaign.
 - 1. Southern commanders. Greene, Morgan.
 - 2. Campaign plan. Battle strategy.
 - 3. Cowpens, Guilford Court House, Hobkirk's Hill.
 - 4. British retirement to coast and Virginia.
- D. Yorktown.
 - a. Arnold and Cornwallis in Virginia. Fortification of Yorktown.
 - b. Washington's and Rochambeau's plan.
 - Co-operation of French fleet.
 - Co-operation of French army.
 - c. Surrender of Cornwallis (October 19, 1781).
- E. End of the War.
 - Position of troops 1781-1783.

VII. Treaty of Peace, 1782-1783.

- A. Effect in England of Cornwallis' surrender.
- B. Conflicting interests among England's enemies.
 - a. Spain, disappointed in not recovering Jamaica (1655) and Gibraltar (1704), and fearful of influence of a republic next to her colonies, solicits French aid for American Southwest. France's apparent willingness.
 - b. Definite instructions by Congress to Americans to co-operate with France.
- C. Anglo-American negotiations.
 - a. Separate negotiations.
 - b. Influence of each American agent.
 - c. Advantage of dissension in British ministry.
- D. Terms of 1782-1783.
 - a. Independence recognized.
 - b. Boundaries defined (important secret clause).
 - c. Fisheries.
 - d. Mississippi.
 - e. Payment of British debts definitely promised.
 - f. Compensation of Loyalists to be recommended to states.
- E. Spanish territorial compensation in final treaty of 1783.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION XI

Questions.

1. Why was it difficult for the British to carry on war in America?
2. What do you think of Sir William Howe?
3. Why did Washington follow the "Fabian policy" of retreat? Was he driven?
4. Sir Edward Creasy included the battle of Saratoga in his book on *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*. Why does it deserve a place there? What was the importance in the preliminary fighting in this campaign of General Schuyler's retreat? Bennington? Oriskany?
5. Describe the American army in the Revolution.
6. How did Congress carry on executive functions?
7. Account for Franklin's success in France.

8. Why was England confronted by so many enemies in the world? Why could she fight so well against them?

9. Discuss the part played by the Indians in the Revolutionary War.

10. Benedict Arnold had the unfortunate prominence of being the first important traitor to the United States. What was his provocation, his defence, his sin?

11. How much did the war affect life in most American communities?

12. Discuss Clark's expedition as a claim to the Mississippi Valley in 1782.

13. Select what seem to you the twelve most important engagements of the war. Who won in the majority of cases? Why did the British lose the war?

14. Was the conduct of Jay and his colleagues at Paris correct in their treatment of Vergennes?

15. Why were the Americans able to get such favorable terms?

Questions on source reading:

1. Write the best character sketch of George III that you can within two hundred words, drawing your material from the report of his tutor, the Earl of Waldegrave (II, 130) and his own correspondence with Lord North (II, 158 and 215).

2. Judging from Washington's letters (II, 195), what would have been the natural thing for him to have done on December 18, 1776? Why?

3. Do Dr. Waldo's account (II, 198) and Gen. Greene's letter to Reed (II, 212) throw any light on American patriotism during the war?

4. Summarize the business of Congress as exhibited in the extract from its proceedings printed as II, 185.

5. Do you think Hamilton (II, 190) gives all the causes of Congress' decline in ability during the war?

6. From Washington's letter to Laurens (II, 206) can you see why foreign banks loaned money to America?

7. Remembering New England's importance in sea-faring, how do you account for the lack of a strong navy? (II, 194).

8. What were some of the evils of our military system in the Revolution according to Washington? (II, 174). Do you see any difficulty with the expedient proposed?

9. Do you find in De Chastellux' account (II, 176) any hint as to why our President is now referred to as "His Excellency"?

10. Basing your estimate of Steuben's character on his letter (II, 250) do you think that here is a good example of the tact which is said to have distinguished Washington?

11. After reading George Rogers Clark's account (II, 201) why do you think so many frontiersmen were willing to join his expedition?

12. Was there any reason besides their own determination for independence that nerved Americans to reject the peace offer of 1778? See Franklin's (II, 199) and Patrick Henry's (II, 203) letters.

13. According to his own report (II, 214) why did Cornwallis surrender?

14. Did Vergennes have a right to be offended with the American peace commissioners in 1782-83? (II, 216). Why, according to Franklin, did they do as they did? What evidence did they show? See John Adams in II, 217.

15. Upon what provisions of the treaty of 1783 did Samuel Adams especially commend John Adams? (III, 48).

16. Outline the benefits alleged by the historian Ramsay (II, 220) to have resulted from our Revolution.

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 12.

SECTION XII

THE PARTIALLY UNITED STATES

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 222-242; Allen Johnson, *Union and Democracy* (Boston, 1915), pp. 1-24; Hart, pp. 102-119; Muzzey, *U. S.*, chap. iii, sections 1 and 2.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, Nos. 205, 218; Vol. III, Nos. 20, 26, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 53, 55-58, 60, 69.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. III, chaps. xiii-xv, xvii; A. C. McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, chaps. iii-xi; J. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (Boston, 1887); J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* (N. Y., 1883), Vol. I, pp. 107-130, 155-164, 200-249, 356-391; 404-416, F. S. Oliver, *Alexander Hamilton* (N. Y., 1905).

I. Difficulties of the New Republic.

- A. Novelty of federal republican government on such a scale.
- B. State particularism and sectionalism when peace restored. Local pride.
- C. Democratic spirit, *e.g.*, prejudice against the Cincinnati.
- D. Revolutionary philosophy. Fear of government.
- E. Loss of Loyalist leaders.
- F. Lack of communication.
- G. Loss of prestige of Congress.
- H. Demoralization following war.

II. The "League of Friendship"—the Articles of Confederation.

- A. Origin and Purpose of the Articles.
 - a. Review Section X, part VI, A.
 - b. On purpose, see Articles of Confederation in Thorpe's or Poore's *Constitutions* or in almost any elementary history.
- B. Relation of states to federal government.
 - a. Claim of sovereignty.
 - b. Concessions by states to each other.
 - c. Scheme of voting.
 - d. The federal government as referee in disputes.
- C. Powers of Congress
 - a. Origin of these powers.
 - b. Powers.
 - 1. Legislative.
 - 2. Executive.
 - c. Powers of states.
 - 1. Expressly reserved.
 - 2. Residuary.
- D. Defects.
 - a. As to representation and voting. Terms of service.
 - b. As to revenue.

- c. As to execution of the law.
- d. As to judicial determination of the law.
- e. As to defence.
- f. As to foreign affairs, including commerce.
- g. As to amendment.

III. Feebleness in foreign relations.

- A. With Great Britain.
 - a. Failure to enforce treaty obligations.
 - 1. States' defiance.
 - (a) British debts, *e.g.*, in Virginia.
 - (b) Treatment of Loyalists.
 - (1) Laws, *e.g.*, New York; Rutgers *vs.* Waddington.
 - (c) Emigration of Loyalists; destination and treatment by Great Britain.
 - 2. British retention of western forts.
 - b. Commerce.
 - 1. Change of status by establishment of independence.
 - 2. British policy of coercion and discrimination. John Adams in London.
 - 3. Commercial amendment proposed in 1784. Its failure.
- B. With Spain.
 - a. Questions at issue: boundary; Mississippi navigation; trading privileges in Spanish ports.
 - b. Spanish policies.
 - 1. Formal negotiation.
 - 2. Intrigue with Indians.
 - 3. Intrigue with western settlers.
 - c. The Jay-Gardoqui treaty proposed and defeated.
 - 1. Intense sectional feeling: Southwest *vs.* New England; position of South Atlantic States.
- C. With Barbary States.
 - 1. Indignities upon the youngest nation.
 - 2. Attitude of stronger nations.
- D. Prussia, Holland and Sweden; commercial treaties.

IV. Domestic disorder.

- A. Interstate disputes. Review part I, B and F.
 - a. Territory and jurisdiction.
 - 1. Connecticut *vs.* Pennsylvania (Wyoming Valley). New Connecticut.
 - 2. New York *vs.* New England (Green Mountains). Vermont.
 - 3. Pennsylvania *vs.* Virginia in upper Ohio river region.
 - 4. Rivalries in the West (before 1781).
 - 5. New York *vs.* Massachusetts (western New York).
 - 6. Virginia *vs.* North Carolina (boundary).
 - 7. North Carolina *vs.* Franklin (see V, A3).
 - 8. Virginia *vs.* Kentucky (see V, A3).
 - b. Commerce.
 - 1. Impost war, *e.g.*, New York, New Hampshire.
- B. Financial impotence of the Confederation government.
 - a. Monetary confusion. "Continental". Decimal system.
 - b. Requisition on the states ill-respected.
 - c. Creditors.
 - 1. Foreign; amount.
 - 2. Domestic.
 - 3. Army.

- (a) Temper of army in 1783.
 - (b) Plans of compensation proposed.
 - (c) Mutiny, actual and proposed.
 - (d) Settlement.
- d. Amendments proposed 1781, 1783; defeated.
- C. Financial troubles within the states.
 - a. Causes of economic distress. Review Section VI, part I, Af, 3.
 - b. Stay and tender laws; paper money; debtors' politics.
 - c. Disturbances throughout the colonies, particularly
 - 1. Rhode Island. *Trevett vs. Weeden*.
 - 2. Massachusetts. Shays' Rebellion.

V. Consolidating Influences.

- A. The West.
 - a. Early settlement.
 - 1. Schemes of colonization.
 - 2. Indian policy of British Empire; Proclamation of 1763, Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768.
 - 3. Settlements.
 - (a) Wataugua. Robertson and Sevier.
 - (b) Pennsylvania and Kentucky. Henderson and Boone.
 - b. Military conquest.
 - (a) Lord Dunmore's War.
 - (b) George Rogers Clark expedition, 1778.
 - (c) Fighting in the southwest.
 - c. The west and the treaty of 1783.
Review Section XI, part VII, Ba, Db and E.
 - d. The National Domain.
 - 1. Acquisition.
 - (a) Colonial claims to trans-Alleghany territory.
 - (1) Based on charters: Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia.
 - (2) Based on exploration and conquest: Virginia.
 - (3) Based on suzerainty derived from Iroquois and from Dutch treaties: New York.
 - (b) Question of ownership after Treaty of 1783.
 - (c) Reasons for transfer of claims to the United States.
 - (1) Jealousy of landless states especially Maryland.
 - (i) Proposals of 1777, 1778.
 - (ii) Maryland's ultimatum December 15, 1778, that the Western territory "should be considered as a common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct".
 - (iii) Cession of claim by New York, 1780-81.
 - (d) Cessions.
 - (1) Before and after 1786. Reservations.
 - 2. Administration.
 - (a) Government.
 - (1) Resolution of Congress, 1780.
 - (2) Ordinance of 1784. Author, territory concerned, governmental provisions, clause on slavery. Fate.
 - (3) Ordinance of 1787. Anti-slavery influences (review Section X, part V. EcI). Ohio Company's lobby. Authorship. Plan of government. Liberal features.
 - (b) Land system.
 - (1) Bounties. Timothy Pickering's schemes, 1783.
 - (2) Land Ordinance of 1785.

- (i) Survey system.
 - (ii) Price and terms of sale.
 - (iii) Provision for education.
- (3) Sales to companies.
 - (i) Precedents.
 - (ii) Most important sales.
- B. Business Interests.
 - a. Review part III, Ab; part IV, Ab, B. C.
 - b. Classes having a special economic interest in more national control.
 - 1. The government's creditors.
 - (a) Bondholders.
 - (b) Military officers.
 - 2. Money-lenders and investors.
 - 3 Merchants, manufacturers and shippers.
 - 4 Speculators in western lands.
- C. Statesmen and pamphleteers. Proposals of Paine, Hamilton, Madison, Washington, Pelatiah Webster, Noah Webster, etc.

VI. The movement for radical reform.

- A. In Congress.
 - a. Proposals for strengthening the union by grant of new powers; commerce and revenue amendments. Review part III, Ab3, part IV, Bd.
 - b. Proposals for coercing states, Madison's report.
- B. Outside Congress.
 - a. Proposals for constitutional convention. Hartford (New England and New York), November, 1780.⁹
 - b. Proposals for constitutional convention by legislatures; New York, 1782; Massachusetts, 1785.
 - c. Virginia—Maryland commissions at Mt. Vernon, 1784-1785. Washington's interest in the west. Effects of Shays' Rebellion.
 - d. Annapolis Convention. Attendance.
 - 1. Call for a general convention.
 - 2. Response by legislatures of Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Delaware, and Georgia.
 - 3. Sanction by Congress, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures, such alterations and provisions therein, as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government, and the preservation of the Union".
 - 4. Response of other states.
 - 5. General character of instructions.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION XII

General Questions:

1. Frederick the Great, of Prussia, believed that the new United States could not endure as a republic over so vast an extent of territory; either it must break up or become a monarchy. He compared it with the Roman Republic which had to become an empire when it grew so large. Why was this comparison inappropriate?
2. What were the defects of the Articles of Confederation?
3. Do you think the United States was treated fairly by Great Britain after the treaty of 1783?

4. How would the Spanish government have defended its American policies?
5. Why was it that so many inter-state disputes raged unchecked?
6. What could you say of the character of Washington as revealed between 1782 and 1787?

7. Could any honest men want paper money or "stay laws" in 1786?

8. What were Virginia's claims to the northwest? Why should Maryland object to states holding western lands? Can you see any reason why New York led in ceding these claims to the United States? What states reserved an interest in the west after ceding most of their claims?

9. Professor Alexander Johnston in his *American Political History* (Woodburn edition, N. Y., 1905), Vol. I, p. 84, says: "The history of the Territories of the United States will, it is confidently submitted, show the infinite superiority of the American over the British colonial policy. Indeed, its superiority has become so apparent that the British policy of late years has been radically altered in the direction of the American policy". What are the elements of our "colonial system" thus commended? In what other ways might the west have developed politically?

10. Does the Northwest Ordinance, which the new Ohio Company helped to get through Congress, show that they sought a high class of settlers?

11. Had any political good been accomplished by us in the Articles of Confederation?

12. Explain why each of the classes mentioned in part V, B of this section desired reform. What other motives probably operated in bringing about the change?

13. Trace the influence of Hamilton and of Madison in this movement.

Questions on source reading:

1. What, in your opinion, has prevented the developments in our national system prophesied by "Agrippa" (III, 69).

2. What do you think of Washington's action with regard to the Cincinnati? (II, 218).

3. With what was the Governor of Quebec concerned about the time our Constitution was framed? (III, 47).

4. After reading Brissot de Warville's account (III, 20) and Tench Coxe's *View of the United States* (III, 26) what would you think to have been the effect of the Revolutionary war on American manufacturing and American commerce? How were these manufactures carried on? Is there anything here which would lead you to believe that the number of active Atlantic ports in America was greater then than now? How were our ships employed? Do Lord Sheffield's observations (III, 49) and Paine's *Crisis* (III, 50) offer any other suggestions?

5. Do you think that John Adams told the truth in his speech to the king? (III, 53).

6. According to Louis Guillaume Otto (III, 45), what were the opinions in the north, the south and in Spain with respect to the controversy over the Jay-Gardoqui treaty of 1785?

7. "Influence is no government", said Washington (III, 57) writing to Henry Lee. What did he mean? What do you think of the arguments which Washington quotes from Henry Knox in his letter to Madison?

8. What arguments advanced by Maryland against Virginia's retention of her western domain (II, 205), strike you as most telling?

9. Does Governor Martin in his manifesto (III, 44) fail to consider any matter or matters that you understand to have been thought important by the followers of Sevier?

10. Which grievances of the western Massachusetts men in 1786 (III, 55) have you found more extensively discussed?

11. How did General Benjamin Lincoln explain Shays' Rebellion? (III, 58).

12. What do you think is important in Otto's account of the Annapolis Convention? (III, 56).

13. Would it be correct to say that Congress did not initiate, but only tardily endorsed the movement for the Constitution? (III, 60).

SECTION XIII

THE CONSTITUTION

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 242-254; Johnson, pp. 25-45; Hart, 120-135; Muzzey, *U. S.*, chap. iii, section 3.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, Nos. 40, 62-68, 70, 72, 73, 76.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 13.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. III, chaps. xvi, xviii; A. C. McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, chaps. xii-xviii; Max Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution* (N. Y., 1913); C. A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (N. Y., 1913).

I. Delegates.

- A. Personality.
- B. Social circumstances.

II. Sources of our Information about the Convention.

- A. The Journal (1818), Madison's notes (1842), King's, Yates', Pierce's, Pinckney's, McHenry's, Paterson's notes.

III. Organization, Methods, etc.

- A. Place and Time.
- B. Officers. Influence of Washington.
- C. Manner of voting.
- D. Secrecy.
- E. Importance of informal group conferences.

IV. Difficulties.

- A. Large vs. small states.
- B. Sectional feeling: East vs. West, North vs. South.
- C. Character of instructions.

V. The Work of the Convention.

- A. Proposed Schemes.
 - a. The Virginia, or Randolph, Plan (Madison), May 29.
 - 1. Character; national government substituted.
 - (a) Structure.
 - (b) Congress' powers.
 - 2. Reception of the plan.
 - 3. Result of discussion: bicameral legislature, proportional representation in lower house, right to negative unconstitutional state laws, single executive, as to structure of legislature, executive and judicial

- organs, relation of state law to the constitution, admission of states, and amendment.
- b. The New Jersey, or Paterson, plan, June 15.
 - 1. Character; amendments.
 - 2. Additional powers to Congress. Organization of Congress. Relation of national laws and treaties to states.
 - 3. Executive.
 - 4. Judiciary.
- c. Hamilton's Plan.
- d. Pinckney's Plan (?)
- B. Compromises.
 - a. "The Great Compromise" June 27-July 5.
 - 1. Ultimatum of Connecticut and other small states.
 - 2. Opposition by Wilson, Madison, King, Morris, etc.
 - 3. Committee of the states and its report, July 5.
 - b. Representation in the lower house. Slaves. Review Section XII, part IV, Bd. (Not a new idea at this time, but still a compromise).
 - c. Selection of executive and the origination of money bills.
 - d. Slave trade and commercial control.
- C. Character of Constitution.
 - a. The "supreme law of the land".
 - b. Powers of Congress.
 - 1. Powers taken from the Articles of Confederation.
 - 2. New Powers.
 - 3. Restrictions.
 - c. Powers of the states.
 - 1. Restrictions.
 - (a) Absolute.
 - (b) Without consent of Congress.
 - d. Composition and jurisdiction of federal courts.
 - e. Powers of the President: executive, legislature, judicial.
 - f. Preamble.
- D. Sources of the Constitution.
 - a. Ultimate English origins.
 - b. Idea of written constitution: charters, Dutch Union of Utrecht, Mayflower Compact, Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, Proprietary engagements, etc.
 - c. Structural precedents: colonial and state experience—"It is of interest that the New York constitution of 1777 seems to have been used more extensively than any other", Max Farrand *The Framing of the Constitution*.—Also, as already discussed, the Articles of Confederation.

VI. The Ratification.

- A. Method.
 - a. Disadvantages in plan of submission to legislatures. Would lose power by new Constitution; other business to do; character of membership.
 - b. Advantages in conventions.
 - More finality; only one house to carry; special character of membership; clergymen allowed.
- B. Opposition.
 - a. Doctrinaire Libertarians.
 - b. Local patriots.
 - c. State office holders.
 - d. New commercial classes: small farmers, many of them debtors. Geographical area.
- C. Support: towns and coastal region. Review Lesson XII, part V, B.

- D. Debate and victory.
 - a. Pamphlets and newspapers. The "Federalist".
 - b. Ratification by small states.
 - c. Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia and New York. Policy by which opposition overcome. Economics of the vote.
 - d. Popular rejoicing.
 - e. Position of North Carolina and Rhode Island.
- E. Demands for new convention and Bill of Rights.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION XIII

Note: The student is strongly advised to learn by heart Article I, Sections 8, 9 and 10 of the Constitution, and carefully to read it all.

General Questions:

1. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 is said to have been made up in large part of "conservatives"; how do you account for this? Was it because of their age? What patriots can you recall whose presence would have been a disadvantage? What others would have worked well with the Convention if they had been there?

2. Shailer Mathews, in his *French Revolution*, p. 154, makes these observations on the famous assembly which was drawing up a constitution at Paris in 1789: "Twelve hundred men discussed constitutional articles before three galleries filled with excitable crowds. Further, the presiding officer was changed every fortnight. . . . Visitors and petitioners were always received. . . . It rapidly assumed executive powers, and like the second Continental Congress of America, was confronted with the double problem of producing a constitution and governing a distracted country . . . [and] put its constitution into effect piecemeal". Contrast this constitutional convention with that in Philadelphia two years before.

3. Why has the New Jersey plan been considered more in accord with the instructions of most delegates than the Virginia plan? Of all plans offered which was farthest from the old order? What features of the Virginia plan were followed in the final Constitution?

4. What arguments were presented for and against the so-called Connecticut compromise?

5. Wherein was the provision for the selection of the President a compromise?

6. What were the other compromises?

7. Write on the opinion and services of some one delegate in the Convention?

8. What things are the states forbidden to do which the federal government can do? What can both do?

9. How much of a federal judiciary did the Constitution make necessary? What is the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, that is, that cases come immediately to it?

10. How far was the theory of checks and balances observed in framing the Constitution?

11. How did the Constitution meet the desires of those economic classes which had been especially interested in reform?

12. Do you think that the framing and ratifying of the Constitution was a revolution in the sense of being fundamental change without warrant in the law of the land as it then existed? ("Had Julius or Napoleon committed these acts they would have been pronounced *coups d'etat*", J. W. Burgess, *Political Science and Constitutional Law*, Vol. I, p. 105). In answering this question one should consider the manner of calling the Convention, its attention to instructions, and its provision for adopting the Constitution.

13. Mr. Gladstone in his complimentary essay on "Kin beyond the Sea" (*Gleanings of Past Years*, Vol. I, p. 212), remarked that "the American Constitu-

tion is, as far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and hand of men". What would you say as to the fitness of the expression, "struck off at a given time"?

14. Were there any pronounced sectional differences of opinion as to the Constitution? Why?

15. What were the principal objections to the Constitution in the states? Why was it so easily carried in Delaware? New Jersey? Connecticut? Georgia?

16. Was the Constitution adopted by the people?

Questions on source reading:

1. Do you think that anything was accomplished toward framing the Constitution at Philadelphia outside of the formal sessions? (III, 63). To what does Col. Mason refer in speaking of the "unexpected evils they have experienced" in the eastern states? Can you think of any other reasons why the eastern leaders wished to strengthen the government than that given here?

2. On the basis of William Pierce's notes (III, 63) can you make a few general statements about the delegates to the Constitutional Convention?

3. Compare Lansing's statement at Poughkeepsie (III, 73) on the response of states to requisition with Madison's (III, 40). Though such a situation of sources always suggests further inquiry, which would you be tempted to regard as correct, and why?

4. Comment on the arguments of Messrs. Dickinson, Wilson and Gerry on the subject of electing United States Senators (III, 64).

5. What did Morris think of the argument that three-fifths of the slaves should count in representation as well as in direct taxes? What economic reason led South Carolina and Georgia to import slaves while the other southern states did not? What connection had the questions of export tax and control of slave importation? What arguments in this debate particularly impress you? (III, 65).

6. Did any of the delegates realize that the "necessary and proper" clause seriously weakened the checks on Congress? Why was the Morris-Franklin form which the Convention adopted in proposing the Constitution called ambiguous? Do you find anything characteristic in Franklin's speeches? (III, 66).

7. What is your comment on Luther Martin's objections to the Constitution? (III, 67). Do you think his complaints just?

8. What did the southern states desire regarding commerce control? (III, 66-Pinckney; and III, 72 p. 243).

9. Can you see any meaning in R. H. Lee's statement (III, 68) that "the Commercial plunder of the South stimulates the rapacious trader"? See also Hamilton on page 243. Was there basis for complaint in the mode of adopting the Constitution?

10. What was the strength of Brackenridge's satire on the criticism of the Constitution? (III, 70).

11. Do the letters to Jeremy Belknap (III, 76) reveal any motive on the part of some for supporting the proposed Constitution? Were these people disappointed?

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 13.

SECTION XIV

THE ORGANIZATION OF A GOVERNMENT

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 256-263, 267-269; Johnson, *Union and Democracy*, pp. 46-65, 80-83, 87; Hart, pp. 136-153, 163-164; Muzzey, *U. S.*, chap. iv, section 1.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, No. 15, 77-79, 85, 86, 89, 90.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 14.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. IV, chaps. i-iv; J. B. McMaster, *People of the United States*, Vol. I, chap. vi, Vol. II, pp. 24-32, 35-48, 53-61, 67-74, 81-82, 85; J. S. Bassett, *The Federalist System* (N. Y., 1906), chaps. i-ii, iv-v, x.

I. Launching the New Government.

- A. Transition from old government
 - a. Preparatory function of old Congress: selection of time and place for inauguration.
 - b. Preparatory function of states: provision for senators, representatives and electors.—Election of these officers.
 - c. Election of Executive.
 - 1. Claims of Washington and Adams.
 - 2. Inauguration. Delay. Preparations in New York. Ceremony.
 - d. Organization of Congress.
- B. Character of the government.
 - a. Question of etiquette. Social standards set by the President and "Lady Washington". Ceremonial in the Senate.
 - b. Question of titles.
 - c. Senate procedure. Secrecy.
 - d. Current.
 - e. Trouble as to whose head was to appear upon the coins.
- C. Organization of the Executive
 - a. Relation of President to Congress.
 - 1. Personal visitation to Congress address and formal reply.
 - 2. Attempt at co-operation in treaty making; Cherokee treaty.
 - b. Cabinet.
 - 1. Experience in special executive service since 1776. Review.
 - 2. Constitutional provision.
 - 3. General policy. Boards or individuals? President's power of removal. Lesson X, part III, Aa, bl, Ba, Ce, Lesson XI, part II, Cba.
 - 4. Departments, etc., as determined.
 - (a) Foreign affairs. Jefferson: training, character, record.
 - (b) Treasury (Important question: should heads of departments appear before Congress?). Hamilton: training, character, record. Currency and mint.
 - (c) War (840 soldiers). Knox.
 - (d) Attorney General (not head of department, but met with the others). Randolph.
 - (e) The post office, though the head not in cabinet.

- D. Organization of Judiciary.
 - a. Constitutional provision.
 - 1. Supreme Court: jurisdiction.
 - 2. Question of inferior courts.
 - b. Judiciary Act of 1789.
 - 1. Expediency of inferior courts.
 - 2. Questions of courts. Procedure. Appeals.
- E. Locating the seat of government might properly be considered here with other general organic measures, but it chanced to be connected with one of Hamilton's financial measures (see II, Cb, (b) (3) iv).
- F. Amendments, 1790.
- G. Other important legislation in First Congress: nationalization law, organization of territory south of the Ohio River, copyright, censor.
- H. Admission of North Carolina (1789) and Rhode Island (1790). Washington's journeys.

II. Nationalism in Finance.

- A. Economic convalescence after 1787 (*partly* due to prosperity of new government),
- B. Tariff of 1789.
 - a. Pressing need of revenue.
 - b. Protective features, *e.g.*, salt, cotton, hemp; moderate character; slight sectional differences—north *vs.* south, farms *vs.* ports.
 - c. Shipping regulations.
- C. Hamilton's policy of nationalism. Review Lesson V, part I, Aa, b, c, dlr, 3.
 - a. General views.
 - 1. His promotion of nationalism, 1780-1788. Personally no local loyalties.
 - 2. Policies in office.
 - (a) Foreign—independence through neutrality till stronger (considered later).
 - (b) Domestic—integration: all citizens to look to national government for protection and direction. Independence and strength through diversification of employment.
 - b. Financial system.
 - 1. Public debt.
 - (a) Approval of any debt commensurate with future ability to pay.
 - (b) Funding scheme.
 - (1) Foreign debt and arrears of interest. Amount.
 - (2) National domestic debt.
 - i. Character: loan office certificates (bonds), certificates of indebtedness for services or supplies, arrears of interest, continental currency.
 - ii. Arguments for and against payment at par.
 - iii. Funded in six per cent bonds. Contest on rate of interest. Lower rate for arrears of interest.
 - iv. Continental currency at 100 to 1.
 - (3) State debts. Amount. Assumption proposed.
 - i. Arguments against.
 - (i) State-rights supporters.
 - (ii) Interest of certain states.
 - (iii) Substitute plan.
 - ii. Arguments for.
 - (i) Cost of war for the common good.
 - (ii) Would cement union.

- (iii) General interdependence of American credit in European view.
- (iv) Inability of states to pay, now deprived of customs duties.
- iii. Position of Madison.
- iv. Arrangement by bargain.
- 2. Protective tariff. Report on manufactures. See above Ca2(b).
- 3. National Bank.
 - (a) Hamilton's purpose.
 - (b) Constitutional debate.
 - (c) Charter of 1791.
- 4. Excise Taxes (1791).
 - (a) Hamilton's purpose.
 - (b) Subjects of taxation.
 - (c) Whiskey Rebellion of 1794.
 - (d) The significant response of the United States government.
- 5. Hamilton's land policy.

Favored sale of public lands for revenue, but slowly and in large parcels, as he feared rapid western emigration would make a nation all of farmers rather than one forced by the needs of individuals to become self-reliant through diversification of economic life.

III. Indian Relations.

- A. Growth of settlement in the Mississippi Valley.
 - a. Routes from the east.
 - b. Settlers: New Englanders, Revolutionary veterans; Virginians; Carolinians.
 - c. Influence of Washington. Location of settlements in 1791, north and south of the Ohio.
 - d. The Indian tribes; location, activities.
- B. Punitive expeditions in the northwest.
 - a. Presence and influence of British. Review Lesson XI, part III, Aa2.
 - b. Defeat under Harmar (1790) and St. Clair (1791).
 - c. Organization and victory under Wayne (1792-1794). Fallen Timber (1794).
 - d. Treaty of Fort Greenville (August, 1794).
- C. Relations with the southern Indians.
 - a. Presence and influence of Spanish officials.
 - b. Border warfare under Robertson and Sevier.
 - c. Diplomacy.
 - 1. With Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees.
 - 2. Treaties of Hopewell (1785 and 1786).
 - 3. Further trouble with Cherokees; treaty of 1791.
 - 4. Relations with Creeks.
 - (a) Georgia's treaties of 1784, 1785, 1786.
 - (b) McGillivray and the United States, 1790.
 - (c) Georgia's land grants.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION XIV

General Questions:

1. It has been said that the First Congress was in some respects like another Constitutional Convention continuing the work of 1787. What truth do you see in this statement?
2. In the discussions of the First Congress what evidence do you find of state jealousy of the federal government's power?

3. R. W. Griswold wrote a book about polite society at the American capital between 1789 and 1801, calling it *The Republican Court*. Can you see any propriety in this title?

4. Do you find in this lesson any allusions to the legislative practice of "log-rolling"? If so, discuss the case or cases.

5. What considerations weighed with Washington in selecting the two principal secretaries of his cabinet? Write on (a) the relations of the cabinet to Congress, and (b) the President's power of removal.

6. Hamilton once wrote to Robert Morris, "A national debt, if it is not excessive, will be a national blessing, a powerful cement to union, a necessity for keeping up taxation, and a spur to industry". What is your comment on this?

7. Can anything be said in extenuation of the Whiskey Rebellion? Why did Washington think it desirable to raise 15,000 soldiers from several states to suppress it?

8. What arguments could properly be urged against Hamilton's other financial policies?

9. F. S. Oliver, in his brilliant *Life of Hamilton*, says that the great secretary's ideal of a statesman was "a good steward of the estate", that is to leave the state (by which he meant the nation and its government) stronger in prestige and organization than he had found it. Is this your idea of the best service to the community? Were Hamilton's policies calculated to realize this ideal?

10. Explain, as far as you can from your reading in connection with this lesson, why Indian relations presented problems to the government, in general and particularly in the early days of the republic.

11. Why was Hamilton not brought forward as a candidate for President in 1789?

Questions on source reading:

1. What is the gist of Senator Maclay's complaint in his observations (III, 77 and 79) on the new United States government?

2. Would Senator Maclay have approved the satire, "To the Noblesse and Courtiers of the United States" (p. 294). How do you account for the existence of the sentiments and behavior here held up to ridicule? Why should Americans show the tendency satirized in Judge Royall Tyler's "Independence Day"? (III, 90).

3. Make a brief outline of the arguments brought forward in the First Congress (III, 78) for and against a protective tariff.

4. After reading Jefferson on Hamilton (III, 85) and Hamilton on Jefferson (III, 86) with whom do you sympathize? Write about two pages explaining their difference in attitude toward government and in foreign relations.

5. In Brissot de Warville's account what characteristics do you find attributed both to Boston and Philadelphia in 1788? In what was Boston superior? In what Philadelphia? What do you think of Brissot as a witness? (III, 15).

6. What do you think of Winterbotham's description of American political conditions in 1795? (III, 89).

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 14.

Also: On your outline map show the places in Louisiana that a traveller such as John Pope (III, 34) would visit in 1791. Show from Gilbert Imlay's *Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories* (III, 35) the routes to the west from the northern states in use in 1792, the best for baggage, and the best route for sight seeing.

SECTION XV

THE FEDERALISTS AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 261-290; Johnson, pp. 65-79, 84-122; Hart, pp. 154-163, 164-175; Muzzey, *U. S.*, chap. iv, sections 2 and 3.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, 83, 91, 94, 95, 97-99, 101, 103-105.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. IV, chaps. v-ix; J. B. McMaster, *People of the United States*, Vol. II, 49-53, 58, 86-141, 165-235, 245-344, 363-475, 491-533; J. S. Bassett, *Federalist System*, chaps. iii, vi-viii, xi, xiii-xix.

I. The Origin of Political Parties in America.

- A. Fundamental causes of party division.
 - a. Psychology:
 - 1. Human combativeness and gregariousness. Social group rivalries.
 - 2. Cautious *vs.* bold.
 - 3. Force of habit in continuing parties.
 - 4. "Ins" *vs.* "outs".
 - b. Political theory.
 - 1. Emphasis on order *vs.* emphasis on liberty.
 - 2. Centralism *vs.* localism (state's rights).
 - c. Economics.
 - 1. "Haves" *vs.* "have nots", especially creditors *vs.* debtors.
 - 2. Personality *vs.* realty.
 - 3. Sectionalism.
- B. Precedents.
 - a. From England: court party *vs.* country party (see Section III, part II D, b); Tories and Whigs.
 - b. From colonial experience: "prerogative men" *vs.* "colony men", etc., etc., (see Lesson VI, part III, C).
 - c. From Revolution: Tories and Whigs.
 - d. From "Critical Period": (see Section XIII).
- C. Matter at issue: constitutional interpretation. The legality of the bank.
- D. Leaders and composition of each party. Position of Washington in cabinet; his re-election.
- E. Organization methods. Jefferson's correspondence. The new party press. Pamphlets.
- F. The anti-Hamilton movement. Giles.
- G. Opinions as to the desirability of parties. Washington's experience. Read Washington's Farewell Address.
- H. Democratic gains by Republicans.
 - a. In Congress,
 - 1. Cabinet members excluded.
 - 2. Ways and means committee. Albert Gallatin.
 - 3. Specific Appropriations.
 - 4. Senate abandons secrecy.
 - b. Eleventh Amendment (not exactly a party question).

II. The Problem of Neutrality. France.

- A. The European situation, 1789-1793.
- B. The position of America in a European conflict.
 - a. non-European "civilized" state considered a novelty; America regarded by European statesmen and by many Americans as part of the European system.
- C. National sympathy of Federalists and Republicans, respectively, with contending forces in Europe. "Anglomen" and "Jacobins" call each other un-American. Public demonstrations. Effect of French atheism upon New England clergy.
- D. Opinion of the leaders as to neutrality.
 - a. Questions of interpretation of treaties of 1778 with France, and reception of a French minister.
 - b. Decision.
 - 1. Hamilton: neutrality until U. S. gathers sufficient strength to take its part in world affairs. His arguments as to the French treaty.
 - 2. Jefferson: uncertain; probably permanent neutrality so as to keep clear of Europe's corruptions.
 - 3. Washington's proclamation (drafted by Jay), May 17, 1793.
- E. Disregard of treaties of 1778, by both parties.
- F. Citizen Genêt.
 - a. Arrival and activities in the South. Military commissions, Reception.
 - b. Question of privateers in the Delaware. Genêt and President Washington.
 - c. The "Little Sarah".
 - d. Genêt's dismissal and subsequent career.
- G. The intrigues of Fauchet and Adet.
- H. Act of 1794 against fitting out vessels.
- I. Part played by Democratic Societies.

III. Relations with England.

- A. Attitude of England toward American diplomacy (See Section XII, part III, B).
 - a. Indifference; no minister, no commercial treaty.
 - b. Nootka Sound affair. Minister sent.
- * B. Questions at issue.
 - a. Those arising out of the treaty of 1783: Western posts; debts, treatment of loyalists; abduction of slaves; boundary disputes.
 - b. Impressment.
 - c. During European war: the French West Indies trade and the rule of 1756.
 - d. Lord Dorchester's speech to the western Indians.
- C. Proposed remedies.
 - a. Pacific coercion.
 - 1. Urged by Jefferson and Madison.
 - 2. Opposed by maritime interests.
 - b. Dayton's scheme of sequestration of debts.
 - c. Fortification and other preparation for war.
 - d. Relaxation of Orders in Council, January, 1774.
 - e. Chief-Justice Jay sent to London.
- D. The Jay treaty.
 - a. Instructions.
 - b. Negotiations.
 - c. Terms as presented to Senate, June 1795.

1. Redress of American grievances?
2. Concessions to America.
3. Demands by England.
4. Significant omissions. Compare a.
5. Provisions for referee commissions.
6. Definition of contraband.
- d. Reception in America.
 1. Popular sentiment. Article XII.
 2. Reasons for and against ratifying. Pamphlets. Action of Senate.
 3. Action of House. Fisher Ames.
- e. Feeling toward England.
 1. Proportion of our commerce carried on with British.
 2. Influence of New England clergy.
 3. Influence of Washington.

IV. Relations with Spain.

- A. Spanish possessions in North America.
- B. Causes of friction.
 - a. Spain's dislike of a republic so close to her colonies. Miranda.
 - b. The English treaty of 1783: secret boundary clause; Mississippi navigation.
 - c. Closed ports in Spain.
 - d. Irritation resulting from the Jay-Gardoqui failure.
- C. Spanish methods of diplomacy in the 1790's.
 - a. Formal negotiations: Gardoqui *vs.* Short and Carmichael.
 - b. Illegitimate interference with western settlements of the United States.
 1. Intrigue with citizens of Ky. and Tenn. The grants at New Madrid. Wilkinson.
 2. Intrigue with Creeks to badger the settlers. McGillvray's duplicity.
 3. Intrigue with Georgia grantees.
 4. American policies of counteraction.
- D. Other inconveniences of unsettled relations with Spain.
 - a. English intrigue against Spain in the west. William Blount.
 - b. French intrigue. Genet and George Rogers Clark. Fauchet and Randolph.
- E. The final negotiation.
 - a. French successes in Europe draw Spain away from England; fear of an English war leads Godoy to suggest a Spanish-American settlement. Influence of Jay treaty.
 - b. Thomas Pinckney obtains favorable treaty of San Lorenzo (1795).
 1. Negotiations.
 2. Provisions of the treaty.

V. Election of 1796.

- A. Retirement of Washington. The evolution of the presidency, 1789-1797.
- B. A party struggle. Hamilton, Adams, G. Clinton and Jefferson as "politicians". The attack on Washington by Paine and others.
- C. The effect on parties of the election of 1796.

VI. The Quarrel with France.

- A. Effect in France of Jay's treaty.
 - a. Inconsistency with Monroe's conduct and assurances.
 - b. French complaints. England's privileges *in re* contraband; America's tolerance of impressment.

- c. American complaint: French embargo of 1793 on American ships.
- d. Monroe's final indiscretions.
- B. The C. C. Pinckney mission.
 - a. The position of the Directory.
 - b. Pinckney's predicament.
- C. Effect in America.
 - a. Special session of Congress, May 13, 1797. President's message. Three groups in Congress. Leaders.
 - b. Defence measures. Taxes. Navy (Military condition of the U. S.).
 - c. Selection of Pickney, Marshall and Gerry as envoys— a "piebald commission".
- D. The XYZ episode.
 - a. Character of American commissioners; of Parisian public life; of Talleyrand.
 - b. The proposals of the special agents of Talleyrand, *in re* President Adams' address, loans, etc. Questions of instructions and of international law involved.
 - c. Gerry's indiscretion. Marshall's return.
 - d. Adams' message. Marshall's XYZ papers published.
- E. War spirit. "Hail Columbia", etc., etc.
- F. The naval war.
 - a. Navy department, 1798.
 - b. Why France did not declare war.
 - 1. Had little sea-power.
 - 2. Fear of driving U. S. to alliance with Great Britain.
 - 3. Unstable position of Directory.
- G. Factional strife in officering the army. Hamilton's ambitions?
- H. Adams' personal diplomacy.
 - a. Dr. Logan's voluntary negotiation. Talleyrand's suggestion, 1798. Change in Directory. W. V. Murray.
 - b. A new commission despite objection.
 - c. Advent of Napoleon.
 - d. Convention of 1800.
 - 1. U. S. released from treaty of 1778.
 - 2. France released from indemnity for American maritime losses.

VII. Party contests under Adams' administration.

- A. Federalist policy with dissent. 1798.
 - a. Mitigating circumstances.
 - 1. Extraordinary license of press and platform.
 - 2. General custom among other nations.
 - 3. State of quasi-war.
 - 4. Attitude of European powers toward American independence.
 - b. Naturalization law. Attitude of extremists.
 - c. Alien Acts.
 - 1. Alien Enemies Act—permanent.
 - 2. Alien Friends Act—expired 1801. President's power. Result.
 - d. Sedition Act; vague definition; against conspiracy and sedition. Dis-advantage of provision about records and high officials. (Temporary).
 - 1. Cases.
 - (a) Thomas Cooper; Matthew Lyon; Callendar; etc. Judge Chase.
 - (b) Common law prosecutions.
 - 2. Protest.
 - (a) Hamilton's counsel.
 - (b) Kentucky Resolutions (also against Alien Laws).
 - i. Authorship.
 - ii. Constitutional doctrine.

- (a) Compact theory.
 - (b) Functions of the central government.
 - (c) Powers of the "co-states".
 - (c) Virginia Resolutions. Authorship. Character.
 - (d) Replies of other states. Vermont.
 - (a) Counter reply of Kentucky.
- B. Other severe laws.
 - a. Against counterfeiting.
 - b. The 8% loan.
 - c. War taxes: stamps, salt, carriages, houses, lands, etc.
 - 1. Fries's rebellion and trial.
- C. Adams' personal difficulties.
 - a. Tactlessness and unpopularity.
 - b. Charges of favor to Great Britain. Robbins trial. Revival of anti-British feeling.
 - c. Influence of the death of Washington.
 - d. Opposition of Hamilton faction.
 - 1. Fundamental causes; jealousy; opinion on militarism; N. Y. *vs.* New England.
 - 2. Hamilton's attitude in 1796.
 - 3. The unfriendly cabinet.
 - 4. The military appointment.
- D. The campaign of 1800.
 - a. Party situation.
 - 1. Sources and areas of Jefferson's strength.
 - 2. Elements weakening the Federalists.
 - (a) Review above.
 - (b) Factional strife intensified by Hamilton's pamphlet on Adams. Circumstances of its publication.
 - b. Issues: political theory, religion.
 - b. The Democratic-Republicans triumph by narrow electoral margin.
 - 1. The campaign in the pivotal states of N. Y. and S. C.
 - (a) The three factions of Democratic-Republicans.
 - (b) Burr's astute arrangement for carrying New York City for the Assembly.
 - (c) Hamilton's desperate expedient proposed to Jay.
 - c. The Jefferson-Burr contest.
 - 1. The tie vote.
 - 2. Burr's conduct toward the Federalists in Congress.
 - 3. Hamilton's influence.
 - 4. The twelfth Amendment, 1804.
- E. The valedictory of Federalism.
 - a. Judiciary Act of 1801.
 - 1. Arguments for.
 - 2. Provisions.
 - 3. Appointments by Adams.
 - b. Appointment of Secretary Marshall as Chief Justice.
 - c. Federalism after 1801.
 - 1. Survivals in state and local politics.
 - 2. The leaders in retirement: Adams, Jay, Morris, Harper, etc.
 - d. The permanent monuments of Federalism.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION XV

General Questions:

1. What can be said for and against democracy?
2. Do you think party government inevitable in a nation like ours? Do you think it desirable?

3. What could be said in favor of our entering the world war after February, 1793? Was neutrality the best course, and, if so, why?

4. Exactly what was Citizen Genêt's offense?

5. Apparently how did Europe regard the United States in the 1790's?

6. When in the early part of the nineteenth century British-American relations were against strained Lord Sheffield wrote, "We have now a complete opportunity of getting rid of that most impolitic treaty of 1794, when Lord Grenville was so perfectly duped by Mr. Jay". What could be said in support of such an unusual opinion?

7. What did the Americans dislike in the treaty? What was the constitutional question involved in the debates on it in the House of Representatives in 1795?

8. "The western States (I speak now from my own observation) stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way". Washington wrote this in 1784 urging Governor Harrison of Virginia to support the project of a canal to the Ohio Valley (*Writings*, Sparks edition, Vol. IX, p. 63). He used the word "States" because the name territories had not been adopted. What did he mean?

9. "The only reason the Spaniards had for withholding the navigation of the Mississippi River was the apprehension of a contraband trade" (Gouverneur Morris, *Dairy and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 347). Can you explain this in the light of Spain's historic commercial policy? Why did the Thomas Pinckney negotiation with Spain succeed in 1795 whereas that of Jay in 1785 had failed?

10. Why did the constitutional system for the selection of the executive fail to work as expected?

11. Write on the topic: "The evolution of the presidency, 1789-1797".

12. Do you think the French had legitimate cause for complaint against America? What can you say of their diplomatic methods?

13. Why did the Americans refuse to loan money to France? What was the difference between this proposed loan and those which several powers negotiated here from 1914 to 1917?

14. What do you think of President Adams' conduct in relation to France? Had he any unpleasant memory of England? Would Adams have got the same terms after the European battles of Marengo, June 13, and Hohenlinden, December 3, 1800? (See Encyclopedia under Napoleon).

15. Bearing in mind the policy of our government after 1917, what do you think of the repressive measures of 1798?

16. Did Jefferson and the other authors of protest advise secession? Nullification by a state?

17. Adams dismissed McHenry and Pickering in the spring of 1800. Was this the best time to have done this?

18. What were the sources and areas of Jefferson's strength?

19. James Parton in his *Life of Aaron Burr*, p. 243, remarks "It was Aaron Burr who taught the democratic party how to conquer". Have you been able to ascertain the truth of this statement? Chapter XV of Parton's book on the campaign of 1800, will make it clear, if there is opportunity to read it. New York's vote made Jefferson's and Burr's victory possible.

20. Why was the Twelfth Amendment adopted?

21. What were "the permanent monuments of Federalism"?

Questions on source reading:

1. Why does John Adams say (III, 83) that our party divisions "began with human nature"?

2. We often hear it said that it was Jefferson who introduced party organization in the United States. After reading Pierrepont Edwards' letter of May 12, 1801 (III, 107) to him, what is your comment on this?

3. Why could "Veritas" (III, 94) plausibly describe the Federalist party as he did (on page 307)? Is there any support for this in Charles Pinckney's letter to Jefferson, October 12, 1800 (III, 103)?

4. Discuss Genêt's letter to Jefferson (III, 95), reprinted from the *American State Papers*.

5. What arguments of Fisher Ames in his speech on the Jay treaty (III, 97) strike you as particularly strong?

6. Judging from his letter to Henry Knox (III, 91) how would you compare John Adams' feeling toward Jefferson with Hamilton's?

7. Is it fair to say that the French Directory demanded a bribe in 1798? See "XYZ Correspondence" (III, 99).

8. Upon what, judging from Robert Treat Paine's song "Adams and Liberty" (III, 98), was our national self-confidence in 1798 founded?

9. Why could Madison claim, in the Virginia Resolutions quoted by "Porcupine" (III, 101), that consolidation of states would mean monarchy?

10. Do you regard Dr. Nathaniel Ames' *Dairy* (III, 104) an historical source of any value?

11. What do you conclude Charles Pinckney's chief purpose to have been in writing his letter of October 12, 1800, to Jefferson (III, 193)? When the South Carolina state constitution of 1790 placed the state capital who had gained? Is there any evidence here that corruption at the polls was possible before the days of universal suffrage?

13. Write a careful comment on the *Columbian Centinel's* summary of Federalist achievement (III, 105).

SECTION XVI

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 291-300, 355-357; Johnson, pp. 123-178; Hart, pp. 176-191; Muzzey, *U. S.*, chap. v, section 1.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, Nos. 106, 110-113.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 15.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. IV, chaps. x-xiii; E. Channing, *The Jeffersonian System* (N. Y., 1906), chaps. i-xii; J. B. McMaster, *People of the U. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 533-537, 583-635, Vol. III, pp. 1-88, 152-218; Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (N. Y., 1889), *passim*.

I. Jeffersonian simplicity.

- A. The city of Washington. Position and extent (to 1846) of the District of Columbia and its character in 1800. "In short, it is the very best city in the world for a future residence"—G. Morris. (On the history of Washington, D. C., see *Encyclopedia Britannica* or some other encyclopedia).
- B. Jefferson.
 - a. The character of his past services.
 - b. His personality.
 - 1. Influences of environment.
 - 2. Scientific, artistic, philosophical and educational interests. Many-sidedness.
 - c. His appearance and manners. The inauguration. Conciliation.
 - d. His principles.
 - 1. General summary. Read first inaugural address.
 - 2. Individualism. View of government in general. *Laissez-faire*. Taxation.
 - 3. Local home rule for states. Why? Constitutional theory.
 - 4. Optimistic view of human nature.
 - 5. Americanism. His quarantine of Europe. Pacifism. War, the hot-bed of tyranny.
 - e. Federalists as prophets of calamity.

II. The Jeffersonian party.

- A. Composition.
 - a. The planters (with exceptions in South Carolina and elsewhere).
 - b. The small farmers and frontiersmen. The situation in Pennsylvania.
 - c. The complexities in New York. Burr, Livingston and Clinton.
 - d. Beginnings in New England.
 - 1. Religious dissenters.
 - 2. Frontier.
 - 3. Mechanics in towns.
- B. Party Practice.
 - a. Jefferson's voluminous correspondence; frank in manner and secret in action.

- b. Policy on removals and appointments.
 - c. State organizations under chairmen like Abraham Bishop of Connecticut.
 - d. Innovation in Congress: message; stenographer in Senate, reporters encouraged in House.
- C. Cabinet.
- a. Madison; character, previous services and place in the party.
 - b. Gallatin: character, previous services and place in the party.
 - c. Others: Dearborn, Robert Smith, Levi Lincoln (and Granger). Purpose in selecting each.
 - d. Jefferson's personal strength as a party leader. Summary.
 "He combined better than any other American statesman the strength that comes from the possession of a few ineradicable convictions, such as confidence in the wisdom of mankind and consequent supremacy of reason, with an aptitude for shifting his views on non-essential questions; and he preserved the magnetism of the idealist while he adapted himself with ease to the changing conditions of a growing country."
 (C. R. Fish, *The Development of American Nationality*, p. 88).

III. The Correction of the government.

- A. The spirit of the new government.
 - a. Expiration of the Alien Friends Law and Sedition Law.
 - b. Repeal of Naturalization Act.
- B. Retrenchment and frugality.
 - a. Civil and diplomatic service cut down. "Court system" of the President's house abolished.
 - b. Repeal of Excise Act and direct taxes.
 - c. Jefferson's policy *in re* defense.
 - d. Gallatin's reduction of the debt.
- C. The courts.
 - a. Jefferson's view of national courts. His personal relations with John Marshall.
 - b. Repeal of Judiciary Act of 1801.
 - c. Impeachments: John Pickering, Chase, (Marshall next?), Addison in Pa.
 - d. Setback in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, 1803.
- D. Jefferson's Indian policy.

IV. War with Tripoli.

- A. The Barbary states, their "commercial treaties" and their "wars" with powers who did not sign them.
- B. Our policy to 1800.
 - a. Treaties with Morocco (without tribute), but not with Tripoli, 1786.
 - b. Treaties with Algiers (1795), Tripoli (1796), Tunis (1797).
 - c. More exorbitant demands, especially from Tripoli (1801). The war declared by Tripoli.
- C. Jefferson's policy with Tripoli.
 - a. Police function of navy.
 - b. Retaliation before U. S. declared war. Dale, 1801, war declared by U. S.
 - c. Preble's squadron, 1802; Wm. Eaton and Hamet.
 - d. Glorious exploits: Somers in the *Intrepid*; Decatur and the *Philadelphia*.
 - f. Tobias Lear's treaty, June 4, 1805.
- D. The Final Phase.

- a. War begun by Algiers, 1812; finished by U. S. shortly after Treaty of Ghent.
- b. Like submission exacted from Tunis and Tripoli.

V. The Louisiana Purchase and the West.

- A. The growth of Trans-Alleghany settlement. Review Section XIV, part III, A. In 1800 "one hundred and eighty thousand whites, with forty thousand negro slaves, made Kentucky the largest community west of the mountains; and about ninety thousand whites and fourteen thousand slaves were scattered over Tennessee. In the territory north of the Ohio less progress had been made. A new England colony existed at Marietta; some fifteen thousand people were gathered at Cincinnati; half-way between the two a small town had grown up at Chillicothe, and other villages or straggling cabins were to be found elsewhere; but the whole Ohio territory contained only forty-five thousand inhabitants". Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (N. Y., 1891), Vol. I, p. 2.
- B. Danger of frontier intrigue. Review Section XII, part V, A, Section XIV, part III, C; and Section XV, part II, Fa, G; IV, Bb, Cb, D. General James Wilkinson.
- C. Sentiment of expansion.
 - a. New States: Vermont, 1791; Kentucky, 1792; Tennessee, 1796; Ohio, 1802.
 - b. Facilities of communication.
 - 1. Example of eastern turnpikes, *e.g.*, Philadelphia-Lancaster, 1794.
 - 2. Provisions in Ohio enabling act.
- D. Louisiana.
 - a. Under French rule.
 - 1. Boundaries. Larger than U. S. by 40%.
 - 2. Number and character of inhabitants.
 - b. Superimposition of Spanish rule, 1763.
 - 1. Effect on trade.
 - 2. Effect on settlement.
 - 3. Economic life: indigo supplanted by sugar about 1795.
 - c. Infiltration of Anglo-Americans.
 - 1. Unsatisfactory character of rivers as boundaries.
 - 2. "Pressure of population".
 - (a) standards of land-holding. 5,000 to 10,000 acre "farms" in American west; distance lightly considered.
 - (b) Confidence in future growth. In 1788-89, 900 boats carrying 20,000 people passed Marietta.
 - 3. Actual settlement near Mississippi and in Florida.
 - (a) Trading settlements between mouth of the Illinois and the mouth of the Kaskaskia.
 - (b) Around Natchez, between the Spanish line and the Yazoo. (Connection with the Cumberland River).
 - (c) Settlements on Spanish invitation at New Madrid, etc., about 1787.
 - (d) Natchitoches.
 - (e) Tombigbee and West Florida settlements.
- E. The Right of Deposit.
 - a. New Orleans trade.
 - 1. Effect of treaty of 1795; 1794-54 U. S., boats; 1799-189.
 - 2. Growing dependence of New Orleans on U. S. supplies.
 - b. Spain's vacillating policy: 3 yr. guaranty; cessation in 1798; renewal in 1799.
- F. Transfer to France.
 - a. Overtures for Louisiana by Directory (Talleyrand).
 - b. Napoleon's imperial ambitions.

1. Influence in Spain.
2. Treaty of San Ildefonso, 1800, (one day after treaty with U. S.).
- c. Continuation of Spanish administration.
 1. Cessation of right of deposit, 1802.
- G. Effect of transfer and closure.
 - a. Frontier policy and fight.
 - b. Federalist demand: fight (to embarrass Jefferson and win support of frontier).
 - c. Jefferson's views and policy.
 1. Scientific curiosity in west.
 - (a) Attention to geography, geology, botany, ethnology, etc.
 - (b) Exploration. Interview with John Ledyard in Paris (1788); attempt to enlist American Philosophical Society (1792); Lewis and Clark expedition despatched (1803).
 2. Anxiety to add to prestige of republican institutions by expansion and success.
 3. Party interest in western expansion—would always be virtuously agrarian and, therefore, Jeffersonian.
 4. Action in Washington.
 - (a) Control of Congress.
 - (b) Appropriation of January, 1803, for purchase of Island of Orleans and West Florida.
 - (c) Negotiations begun with Napoleon.
 - (1) Instructions to Livingston.
 - (2) Despatch of Monroe as special agent.
 5. Negotiations in Paris.
 - (a) Napoleon's reasons for selling.
 - (1) Defeat in San Domingo.
 - (2) Need of funds for war on England.
 - (3) England's control of the sea.
 - (b) Purchase.
 - (c) Napoleon's boldness in selling.
 - (1) Had engaged with Spain not to sell to third party.
 - (2) Treaty of San Ildefonso not carried out in Territorial exchange.
 - (3) Forbidden by French Constitution to alienate French property.
- H. Republican policy after the purchase.
 - a. Jefferson alters his constitutional opinions in deference to the people's will.
 - b. Territorial government for Louisiana.
 - c. Exploration and Communication.
 1. Lewis and Clark to the Pacific (1804-1806). Previous visit of Capt. Gray in the *Columbia*, 1792.
 2. Capt. Zebulon M. Pike (1805, 1806-1807).
 3. Communication.
 - (a) Cumberland Road (1806).
 - (b) Projected road from Ga. to New Orleans.
 - d. Expansionist policy.
 1. Boundaries claimed for Louisiana.
 2. Mobile Act of 1804.
 3. Attempt to get Florida (1805-1806). "Two Million Act".
 4. Occupation of West Florida to the Pearl, 1810.
 5. Admission of state of Louisiana.
 6. Seizure of Mobile region (to the Perdido) 1813.

VI. Opposition to Jefferson.

- A. The schism of the "Quids".
 - a. Jefferson's practical moderation in reform.

1. Acceptance of Federalist institutions—navy, debt, etc.
2. Apparent change of view *in re* presidential powers.
3. Criticism of uncompromising Republicans, like John Randolph, John Taylor, Mason, Giles, etc., the "Quids". Randolph's character.
- b. The "Yazoo frauds" (Review Section XIII, part III, Cc, 4(c) and Section XIV, part IV, Cb3, Eb2).
 - Conflict of land claims: Ga., U. S., grantees.
 2. Georgia's cession of claims to U. S. in 1802.
 3. Bills of 1803, and after, to buy off grantees.
 - (a) Randolph's phillipics on government's countenance to speculators.
 - (b) Measure finally passed, 1814.
- c. Other discontented Republicans: General Smith, Aaron Burr, George Clinton (jealousy of Va.).
- d. Tendency to give name of "Quids" to insurgent factions in the states. Coalition with Federalists in certain states.
- e. Diversity of interest among the opposition.
- f. Jefferson's test in meeting Republican opposition.
- B. The Federalists.
 - a. Review I, Be.
 - b. Effect of Louisiana purchase.
 1. Review V, Gb.
 2. Criticism of Jefferson's policy in new territories.
 - (a) New England Conspiracy. Fear of the West:
 - (1) "Organization in New England". "Junto".
 - (2) Need of New York.
 - i. Final resource to Burr.
 - ii. N. Y. State campaign of 1804.
 - iii. Hamilton-Burr duel.
 - (3) Federalist failure in national campaign.
 - (4) Revival of project in 1808.
 - (b) Josiah Quincy on admission of Louisiana, 1811-1812.
 - c. The Burr Conspiracy, 1806.
 - a. Object of Burr: Mexico? Land development? Louisiana?
 1. Proposals to English and Spanish ministers to U. S.
 - b. Methods of recruitment.
 - c. Charges and capture. Wilkinson's double treachery.
 - d. Trial.
 - D. Campaign and election of 1818.

As the second part of this lesson, the student is to prepare a

Critical Review of Henry Adam's History of the United States
(N. Y., 1891), Volume I.

This work will be found in most public or institutional, as well as in many private, libraries. It is very desirable to make its acquaintance and if it seems quite impossible for the student to gain access to it he is to communicate with the instructor.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION XVI

General Questions:

1. In his *Life of Hamilton*, F. S. Oliver says, "Hamilton was for the hive, Jefferson for the bee". What does this mean?
2. Had you lived in 1800 would you or would you not have favored Thomas Jefferson for President?

3. As you look back upon it now do you think it well that Adams was defeated?

4. The Jeffersonian party is called a continuation of the Anti-Federalists. Can you think of any exception or exceptions in its membership?

5. Compare Gallatin's financial policy with Hamilton's.

6. Of course, Congress might pass a law unauthorized by the Constitution. Compare Marshall's remedy for this with that which Jefferson had proposed a few years before.

7. In recommending war with Tripoli was Jefferson inconsistent, in the light of his doctrine of pacifism?

8. What were the results of this war?

9. How much did Spanish rule affect life in Louisiana?

10. Why was Jefferson anxious to buy Louisiana? Why did Napoleon's defeat in San Domingo affect his imperial policy?

11. "To my mind a true estimate of Mr. Jefferson's character warrants the expectation of a temporizing rather than a violent system" (Hamilton to Bayard, 1801). How far was this prophecy fulfilled? Do Jefferson's acts as President all seem consistent with his early professions? It was alleged (see J. B. McMaster's *History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 526) that Jefferson agreed, in return for Federalist support when the House of Representatives voted for President in 1801, to accept at least the financial commitments of the Federalists. This he categorically denied. Can you suggest any other explanation of his apparent change of attitude?

12. What do you think of Jefferson's expansion policies?

13. Why did Jefferson think his party would gain by adding states from the west?

14. What is your comment on the "Essex Junto"?

Questions on source reading:

1. How far do you think Jefferson's policies in his administration of the government were formed upon the principles set forth in his inaugural address? (III, 106).

2. What are the points of Irving's satire on Jefferson (III, 110) contained in his *Knickerbocker History*?

3. Why, in your opinion, did Jefferson write Livingston (III, 111) on France's acquisition of Louisiana?

4. What flaws in Napoleon's legal competence to transfer Louisiana are referred to in Lucien Bonaparte's memoirs (III, 112) and Mr. Pickering's speech in Congress (III, 113).

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 15.

SECTION XVII

THE WAR OF 1812

TEXT: Bassett, pp. 295-296, 306-338; Johnson, pp. 179-230; Hart, pp. 191-220; Muzzey, U. S., chap. v, sections 2 and 3.

SOURCE READING: Hart, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, No. 118, 119, 121, 123, 125, 128.

MAP STUDY: *Atlas*, Map Study No. 16.

Collateral Reading: E. Channing, *United States*, Vol. IV, chaps. xiv-xx; E. Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, chaps. xiii-xx; K. C. Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality* (N. Y., 1906), chaps. i-xi; J. B. McMaster, *People of the U. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 219-458, 528-560, Vol. IV, chaps. xxiv-xxviii; Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, *passim*.

I. Neutral Trade, 1793-1805.

A. Review Section XIV, part III, Bc, Cd.

B. Extent of trade.

a. The most important neutral. The necessities of warring Europe.

b. Character of the trade.

1. With the Orient. The great days of Salem. Derby, Girard, Gracie and other "merchant princes". (Consult an encyclopedia of American biography, if possible).

2. With the French West Indies. The Rule of 1756 (see Lesson VIII, part II, Ac3,) evaded by "broken" voyages. (Our total tonnage nearly tripled between 1793 and 1810).

(a) England's approval of this trade.

(1) Cordial feeling of England during our quasi-war with France.

(2) Case of the *Polly*, 1800.

II. Reversal of British Policy, 1805.

A. The menace of Napoleon.

B. The rule of 1756.

a. Demand of English merchants to cut down American trade.

1. James Stephen's *War in Disguise*.

b. Case of the *Essex*.

c. Trafalgar fires British maritime pride.

1. Importance of British maritime regulation. Power to insist.

2. British unwillingness to renew Jay treaty trade provisions of 1806.

d. Fruitless negotiation: Monroe and Pinckney, 1806.

C. Paper blockade. Fox's queer concessions.

D. Increased practice of impressment.

a. Man-power of the British navy.

1. Impressment in England: general liability of citizens to naval service. (Colonists had not been impressed).

2. Prevalence of desertion especially to American ships.

b. Conflicting views as to British right of search and recovery.

1. Jurisdiction on the sea.

- (a) British claim that anyone could go anywhere, including on board a foreign ship, about proper business.
- (b) American claim that each nation had exclusive jurisdiction on its own ships. Ship under suspicion should be haled into admiralty court.
- 2. Citizenship.
 - (a) British claims of indefeasible citizenship (maintained until 1870).
 - (b) American claim of rights of expatriation and naturalization.
- c. The practice and remonstrance.
 - 1. English search of any ship and seizure of any man of English birth, despite Jefferson's rule (1792) that flag vouched for the crew.
 - (a) Further excuse: many naturalization papers fraudulent.
 - (b) Extent: Madison's list of 913 American impressed, 1806.
 - 2. Negotiations: Jay, 1794; King, 1803; Monroe and Pinkney, 1806.
 - 3. *Leander* affair, 1806.
- d. Search of war-ships.
 - 1. U. S. S. *Baltimore*, 1798.
 - 2. *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, 1807. Jefferson's proclamation.

III. Peaceful Coercion to gain neutral rights.

- A. Review Section XV, part I, Bd, 5 and 6.
- B. Previous use of commercial restriction as a political weapon: 1765, 1768, 1774, 1794.
- C. Non-Importation Act of 1806; against England.
 - a. Mild character; suspensions.
 - b. Connection with Monroe—Pinkney negotiations.
- D. The failure of diplomacy.
 - a. Monroe-Pinkney treaty rejected by Jefferson.
 - b. George Rose's impossible instructions.
- E. The European situation: Napoleon's "Continental System", decrees *vs.* orders.
 - a. Berlin Decree, Nov. 21, 1806. (Our relations with France, 1800-1707).
 - b. Orders in Council of 1807, Jan. and Nov.
 - c. Milan Decree, Dec. 17, 1807.
- F. Embargo: Dec. 1807; Jan. 1808; Mar. 1808.
 - a. Expediency.
 - 1. Arguments for:
 - (a) Lever on English and French Legislation.
 - (b) A measure hopefully put forward as a substitute for war; only alternative for war or submission.
 - (c) (Support of the Adamses).
 - 2. Arguments against:
 - (a) More embarrassing to U. S. than England and France.
 - (1) Effect in port towns.
 - (2) Effect in agricultural staple areas, *e.g.* Va. Coast region of N. C., and western N. Y. "Whatever may have been the success of the embargo in inflicting injury upon Great Britain, the American government, in enforcing it, was evidently holding the blade of the sword and striking the enemy with the hilt", Alexander Johnston. "It protected ships, but destroyed commerce; it produced no effect whatever on either belligerent, but threw the carrying trade into other hands; it was enforceable only by measures which violated the popular idea of liberty", S. E. Morison, *Life of H. G. Otis*, Vol. I, page 323.
 - b. Opposition.

1. Evasion, *e.g.* Amelia Island, Great Lakes, Champlain, Nova Scotia, etc.
2. Reviled Federalism of the most malignant sort ("Essex Junto").
 - (a) Campaign of 1808.
- c. Stimulus to domestic manufactures.
- G. Non-Intercourse Act, March 1, 1809; June 28, 1809.
- H. The Erskine treaty.
 - a. Erskine's instruction.
 - b. American compliance. Non-Intercourse only with France.
 - c. English repudiation.
 - d. F. J. Jackson's demands.
- I. Macon's Bill, No. 2, 1810.
 - a. Napoleon's Rambouillet Decree, March 23, 1810.
 - b. Macon's Bill, No. 2.
 - c. The fiction of French concessions.
- J. Non-Intercourse Act, March 2, 1811, *vs.* England.

IV. Rise of the War Spirit.

- A. "The Revolution of 1811";
 - a. The West.
 1. Growing importance: Tenn., Ky., La., Ohio, and the western regions of Atlantic states.
 2. Characteristics: aggressiveness, expansion, hatred of Indians and all who abetted them.
 3. Election of Clay, Calhoun, Porter, Grundy, Johnson, Bacon, etc.—"Young Republicans" or "War Hawks".
 4. Tecumseh's conspiracy, the Battle of Tippecanoe, July, 1811, and allegations of British responsibility.
 5. Cry for the "Conquest of Canada".
 - b. Reaction *vs.* negative policy of the "old foxes".
 1. Election of other "Young Republicans", *i.e.* not from the West; Lowndes, Cheves, Williams, etc.
- B. Alleged impropriety of British diplomatic agents.
 1. Fraternization of envoys with Federalists: Rose, F. J. Jackson, A. J. Foster.
 2. Henry Letters.
- C. Further irritation on the sea: the *Little Belt* and the *President*, May, 1811.
- B. Debates.
 - a. Madison's message: impressments now put first.
 - b. Argument for war: national honor; conquest of Canada and Florida, a balanced expansion (Western optimism). Bitterness toward England surviving from the Revolution.
 - c. Opposition.
 1. Inconsistent with Democratic-Republican ideals and policy.
 2. Partisan and factional opposition to Madison.
 3. Commercial element's preference for foreign interference, (with prices adjusted) over war with complete end to commerce.
 4. Napoleon's obvious bad faith. Why fight England?
 5. Staleness of the issues.
 6. Cost.
 - d. Character of the war to be military rather than naval.
- C. Declaration of War.
 - a. Embargo.
 - b. British delay in repealing Orders in Council, Notice June 16, 1812; but with proviso declaring the right to resume.
 - c. Declaration by Congress, June 18.

- D. Electoral Campaign of 1812.
 - a. Fusion of Federalists and Clintonians-DeWitt Clinton.
 - b. Political methods.
 - c. Result.

V. Position and plans of the Belligerents.

- A. Military position of the U. S.
 - a. Majority of people lukewarm or opposed.
 - b. State of army.
 - 1. Numbers.
 - 2. Officers.
 - 3. Militia.
 - c. State of Navy. Lakes.
 - d. Lack of financial support.
 - 1. No U. S. Bank;
 - 2. Free capital largely in disaffected sections.
 - 3. Danger of high taxes.
 - e. Lack of transportation facilities.
- B. Military position of Great Britain.
 - a. Preoccupation with Napoleon.
 - b. Control of seas.
 - c. Canada, ill defended by men and forts but well protected by wilderness.
- C. American plans: invade Canada; annoy British on sea.
- D. British plan; blockade Montauk Point to New Orleans; protection of Canada; clear the seas; attack centers of American war spirit—the Potomac and the Mississippi Valleys (i.e. Washington and New Orleans).

VI. The War-Offensive, 1812-1813.

- A. Triple attack on Canada, 1812.
 - a. Detroit.
 - 1. Hull's orders.
 - 2. Hull's reasons for surrender.
 - b. Niagara.
 - 1. Political situation in New York.
 - 2. Use of militia.
 - 3. Lack of co-operation.
 - 4. Queenstown Heights.
 - c. Attack on Montreal.
 - 1. Ends at Plattsburg.
- B. Triple attack on Canada, 1813-1814.
 - a. The Detroit gate.
 - 1. Character of the Indian War (continued from 1811).
 - 2. Battle of the Thames. Effect on Indians.
 - 3. Perry's victory at Put-In-Bay secures the West (First decisive battle).
 - b. The Northern New York gate.
 - 1. The Wilkinson fiasco.
 - c. The Niagara gate.
 - 1. Dearborn's unfruitful campaign, 1813.
 - (a) Emergence of Brown and Scott.
 - 2. Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, July, 1814.
- C. Fighting on the Sea.
 - a. Navy: size (U. S. had 15 ships to Great Britain's 1000); character; personnel.

- b. American successes: *Constitution vs. Guerriere*; *Wasp vs. Frolic*; *United States vs. Macedonian*; *Constitution vs. Java*; *Hornet vs. Peacock*.
- c. British naval victory. Blockade.
- d. Privateers. Profits.

VII. The War-Defensive, 1814-1815.

- A. The triple attack planned by the British; up Champlain, up the Potomac and up the Mississippi. Great Britain free from Napoleon's menace.
- B. Champlain.
 - a. Purposes and organization.
 - b. Lack of "Lake Power". McDonough's victory, Sept. 11.
 - c. End of the campaign.
- C. The Chesapeake.
 - a. Purpose and organization.
 - b. "Bladensburg races".
 - c. Vandalism in Washington.
 - 1. Effect on administration.
 - 2. Effect on public opinion.
 - d. Attack on Baltimore. "Star Spangled Banner".
- D. The Southwest.
 - a. Jackson and Creek War, 1813.
 - 1. Battle of Horse Shoe Bend.
 - 2. Mobile seized.
 - 3. Treaty of Fort Jackson.
 - 4. Seizure of Pensacola.
 - b. Defense of New Orleans.
 - 1. General situation at end of 1814.
 - (a) Sackett's Harbor menaced.
 - (b) Half of Maine in British hands.
 - 2. Battle, Jan. 8, 1815 ("Jackson Day").
 - 3. Significance of the victory.

VIII. Public Opinion during the War.

- A. Unpopularity of the war.
 - a. Continued support from Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio.
 - b. Critical election of 1813 in New York; Tompkins re-elected. Partial support in Middle States.
 - c. New England refuses active aid, though does more than some other sections.
 - d. The South—without much money and less interested in war at a distance.
 - e. The Federalist party: 68 Congressmen (out of 182) in 1813; 65 in 1814.
- B. Desperate Condition of the Government.
 - a. The army.
 - 1. Maladministration. Eustis, Armstrong.
 - 2. Failure of recruiting: only about 30,000 regulars maintained, despite generous land bounty.
 - 3. Monroe's plan of selective conscription from state militia; enlistment of apprentices and other minors.
 - 4. The militia.
 - (a) The home-defence rule.
 - (b) Terms and training.
 - (c) Character, Under Dearborn, 1813; Bladensburg; Chippewa; New Orleans,

b. Finance.

1. New England's refusal of support.
2. No adequate banking organization.
3. Loans from Astor, Girard and Parish.
4. The Treasury insolvent in 1814.
 - (a) Suspension of specie payment by all banks outside of New England.
 - (b) Suspension of specie payment by the Government. Reliance upon treasury notes.
 - (c) Currency schemes.
 - (d) Bank schemes (without capital).
 - (e) Impossibility of adequate taxation.
 - (f) Personal borrowing by Secretary Monroe and others. "When we reflect that the recent war cost the United States more than a million dollars an hour for over two years (or enough to have carried on the War of 1812 for five hundred years at the rate of expenditure which that war involved), and that this stupendous expenditure was really met by means of popular taxes and Liberty Loans, we can scarcely credit our eyes when we read that because of the feeble credit of the national government at the time of the War of 1812, Daniel D. Tompkins, personally at the earnest entreaty of the President of the United States and the Secretary of War, negotiated loans to the National Treasury to the amount of about \$1,400,000, for which he had to give his personal security, in order that the nation might be defended and preserved", C. M. Dow, "Daniel D. Tompkins", *Quarterly Journal of the N. Y. State Historical Association*, Jan., 1920.

"This great fabric seems nodding and tottering to its fall",
Z. R. Shepherd, *Annals of Congress*, 1814-1815, III, p. 829.

c. New England's course.

1. Criticism; extreme "blue light" federalists.
2. Sufferings under embargo during war (alleviated by privateering).
3. Complaint of taxation without protection. Stand on militia.
4. Remedy—states take care of themselves or reorganization?
5. Hartford Convention, Dec. 15, 1814.
 - (a) How and why called.
 - (b) States and communities represented.
 - (c) Moderate Federalists in control. Secrecy.
 - (d) Proposed amendments.
 - (e) Call for second convention.

IX. The Peace of Ghent.

A. Alexander I offers mediation, 1812.

B. Commissioners. Gothenberg, 1814. Ghent.

C. English demands.

1. Indian territory—Sandusky to Kaskaskia.
2. Exclusion of U. S. from lakes: east bank of Niagara and line from Plattsburg to Sackett's Harbor; no army left in N. Y.
3. Eastern half of Maine.
4. No Yankee fishing rights on British banks.
5. Louisiana must be given up.

D. American demands.

1. Abolition of impressment; allegiance defined.
2. Commerce and blockades.

E. Conflicts within American commission: Adams (fisheries) and Clay (Mississippi navigation). Gallatin's role.

F. Concessions. The treaty, December 24, 1814. (Effect on Federalists).

G. Subsequent arrangements; Rush-Bagot; fisheries; boundaries.

NOTEBOOK FOR SECTION XVII

General Questions:

1. Was the condition of our foreign trade during the first administration of Jefferson a help or a hindrance to Secretary Gallatin in his financial policy?

2. Why did England change her maritime policy about 1806?

3. "When mariners, subjects of his Majesty, are employed in the private service of foreigners; they enter into engagements inconsistent with the duty of subjects", Canning to Monroe, September 23, 1807. Criticize this from the American point of view.

4. Write on our use of commercial restriction as a political weapon before 1806.

5. Which was more unjustifiable in international law, the decrees or the orders?

6. To what extent was neutral trade now possible?

7. Why did not the restrictive policy, more or less continuous from 1806 to 1815, inflict more suffering in America than it did?

8. Does it seem to you that Madison was subservient to France?

9. The English had seized about 900 ships; the French, more than 550. Why did we fight England, and not France?

10. Why did we delay so long in going to war?

11. The War of 1812 has been often called the Second War for Independence. In how far is this name precisely descriptive and in how far not? What comment have you to make on the claim made by many Americans at the time that it was a war for "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights"?

12. It is often said that if an Atlantic cable had been in existence the War of 1812 would not have been fought. Do you think this true?

13. Why was DeWitt Clinton a candidate for the presidency in 1812?

14. Why were the first British blockade limits from Montauk Point to New Orleans?

15. Why were we so unprepared for war in 1812?

16. Can you say anything for General Hull in the light of the reference in part V, Ac?

17. What of value, if anything, was really accomplished by the American navy on the high seas?

18. The Duke of Wellington said, "I have told the ministers repeatedly that a naval superiority on the Lakes is a *sine qua non* of success in war on the frontier of Canada, even if our war be wholly defensive." Why?

19. What was the effect of the raid on Washington?

20. Why was the battle of New Orleans important?

21. Would the defeat of Governor Tompkins in the New York state campaign of 1813 have made a difference in the war?

22. Discuss the militia in the War of 1812.

23. Why was it difficult to finance the War of 1812?

24. Account for the constitutional changes proposed by the Hartford Convention?

25. Was there anything in the first demands of the British peace commissioners that makes the aggressive policy of the "Young Republicans" three years before, seem more reasonable? Or does this show the seriousness with which the British took the statement of that policy?

26. Did the United States win the war?

Questions on source reading:

1. Do you think that James Stephen (III, 118) made out a good case for more severity on the part of England in her maritime policy?

2. Why could the "*Chesapeake-Leopard*" affair (III, 119) have been considered a cause for war?

3. What do you think of Senator Giles' defence of the embargo? (III, 121).

4. Is there any error in Henry Clay's statement (III, 125) of the offenses of Great Britain that led to war? What was the most irritating feature of her practice of impressment (p. 418)? What was the English theory of search? How was the war with Canada justified?

5. Why did the admission of the state of Louisiana mark an epoch in the history of the United States? What do you think of the case made out against it by Josiah Quincy? (III, 123). After all who would be the future westerners whom he dreaded to see match the easterners' power? Compare his doctrine with that of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.

6. The central paragraph on page 428 of our extract from J. Q. Adams' account (III, 128) refers to the issue which brought Adams and Clay into conflict at Ghent. Can you explain this a little further? Why was "Hail Columbia" one of the least offensive American patriotic airs for the band to play at the final banquet?

MAP STUDY

Map Study No. 16.

SECTIONS XVIII and XIX

THE ESSAY

(See directions printed before the syllabus).

SECTION XX

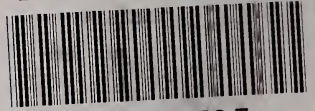
THE FINAL EXAMINATION

Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: April 2010

PreservationTechnologies
A WORLD LEADER IN COLLECTIONS PRESERVATION

111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0.011 529 366 7